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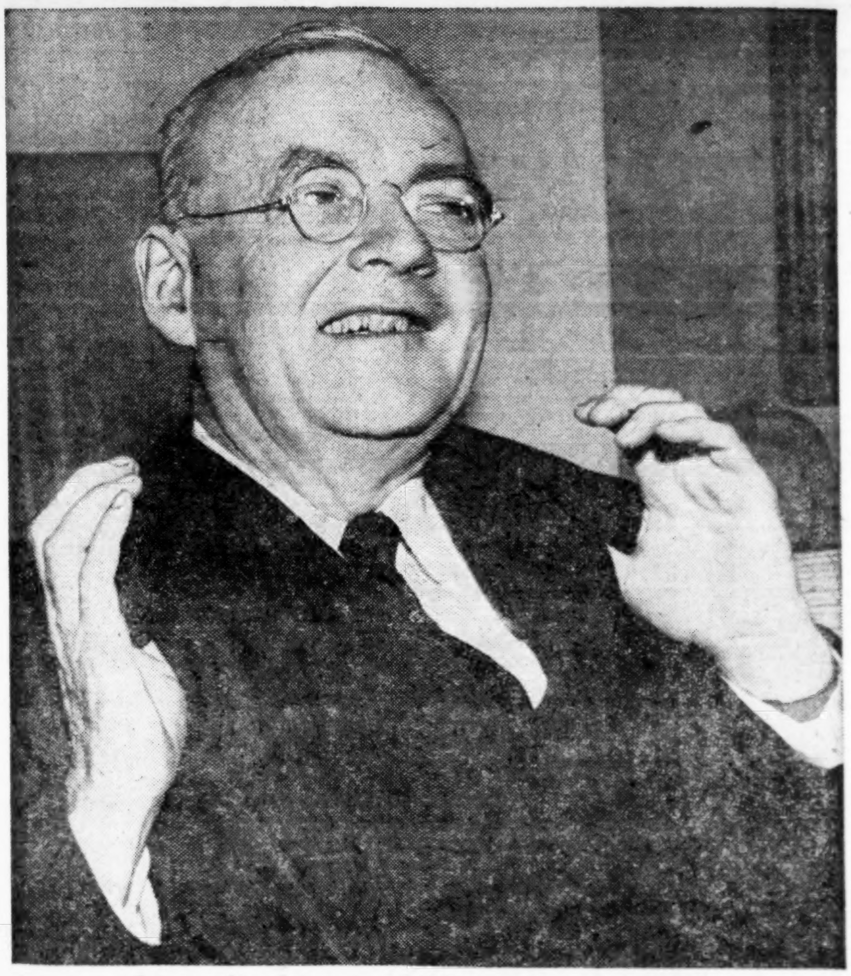

Portrait of a man at the verge of a brink
Or, how many cats did Foster let out of that bag?

WAR & PEACE

Dulles jolts public awake to horror of bomb diplomacy

By Tabitha Petran

THE POLITICAL STORM raised here and abroad by Secy. of State Dulles' "brink of war" interview with **Life** magazine is symptomatic of the restlessness of the Western world in face of the now undeniable obsolesence of the "policy of strength." Convinced by the Geneva summit conference that this policy—or at least its most extreme aspects—had been laid aside, Western public opinion was shocked by Dulles' renewed expression of faith in its efficiency.

Stripped of its verbiage, the Dulles thesis is simple: he and the President have three times (Korea, Indo-China, Formosa) saved the peace by invoking the threat of atomic war and by being ready and willing to make good the threat.

THE REAL DETERRENT: These boasts of H-bomb gambles that allegedly paid off provoked angry charges of "distortion"—especially in Britain. Even American papers usually found in Dulles' corner accused him of "rewriting diplomatic defeats into victories" (N. Y. **World-Telegram, 1/14**). But few critics pointed to the real reasons why Dulles' provocations did not precipitate atomic war. These were:

(1) The other side's refusal to be provoked; (2) strong popular opposition, especially in Britain, which made British government support of U. S. policy impossible; (3) a combination of factors here and abroad which led—at least in the instances of Indo-China and Formosa—to the President's last minute intervention against war.

That Dulles stood history on its head should not, however, obscure the fact that his interview is a frank description of U. S.—and Western—policy throughout the cold war decade. The greatest Secretary of State since Thomas Jefferson (in **Life's** view) defined American diplomacy in this fashion:

> "The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are

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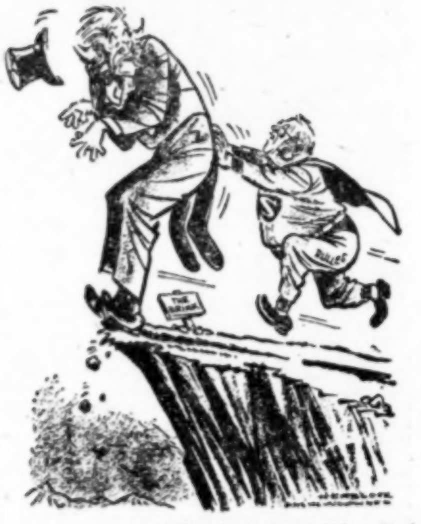

Herblock in Washington Post
"Don't be afraid—I can a'ways pull you back."

THE NATION

Ike's message slips rug from under the Democrats

By Lawrence Emery

DURING the first session of the 84th Congress it was the fond boast of many a Democrat that they had given stronger support to President Eisenhower on most issues than had his own Republicans. For this willing collaboration, the Democrats got a kick in the face as the second session of the 84th Congress got under way. In his State of the Union message President Eisenhower didn't have even a token "thank you" for his Democratic helpers.

General theme of the message was onward and upward under the GOP. Platitudes were plentiful; under the gentle Eisenhower guidance more people had more of everything than ever before; this Administration had achieved the twin blessings of peace and prosperity and the Democrats, by implication, had nothing at all to do with the shining results. For his legislative program—the details to be spelled out later in 18 special messages to Congress—the President borrowed unashamedly from Democratic programs and didn't even give them a credit line.

DEMOCRATS FURIOUS: Last November Congressional Democratic leaders got together and worked out a 13-point legislative program which they hoped would overmatch anything the President offered; the N. Y. **Times** said "the Democrats will attempt for the most part to go further and sooner." But the President got there first, went further than Democrats expected, and took sole credit for all things good.

As they listened to his message their annoyance grew; when it was over they were sputtering angry.

- Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B.

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"LOOK" ARTICLE AMOUNTS TO A CONFESSION

Brothers tell how they killed Emmett Till

THE GHOST of young Emmett Louis Till walked again last week to haunt his alleged Mississippi murderers, J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant. A **Look** magazine story (Jan. 24) put the finger on them as the boy's lynchers.

The **Look** story of freelance writer Wililam Bradford Huie's narrative of the half-brothers contains several direct quotes and amounts to a confession that they kidnaped the 14-year-old Chicagoan, shot him and threw his weighted body into the Tallahatchie River.

The two men admitted to Leflore County deputy Sheriff George W. Smith, when the case first broke, that they had routed the Negro youngster from his bed in the shanty of his sharecropper uncle Moses Wright early in the morning of Aug. 28 and driven away with him in their pickup truck. They said he had "wolf-whistled" at Bryant's wife.

THE OMISSIONS: The **Look** story is told largely in Milam's and Bryant's own words. It therefore omits many details known to GUARDIAN readers from accounts by Negro reporters who covered the murder trial at Sumner, Miss. The Baltimore **Afro-American's** James L. Hicks and Chicago **Defender** and Pittsburgh **Courier** reporters—produced witnesses who told of hearing the tortured boy's cries for mercy. Teen-age field hand Willie Reed was one such witness. He is now in Chicago—as is Moses Wright—because of the danger of lynching. Milam's **Look** story mentions no third person's being with them at the shanty; but Wright told reporters that a third person, "who acted like a colored man," had stood in the shadows on the porch while Milam and Bryant were inside. Nor does Milam's story mention the woman whom the Wrights heard say, "Yes, he's the one," when Emmett was taken out to the truck.

There are other omissions, all of which the **Afro** weeks ago supplied to Atty. Gen. Brownell and the FBI, both personally and in a published "open letter." The main reason Milam gave for killing the boy, according to **Look,** was that Emmett, even when beaten with a .45 army pistol, refused to admit "inferiority."

BY THE RIVER BANK: It came out in the **Look** article thus:

> About 1.5 miles southeast of the Boyce home is a lonely spot where Big Milam had hunted squirrels. The river bank is steep. The truck stopped 30 yards from the water.
>
> Big Milam ordered Bobo to pick up the [74-pound metal cotton-gin] fan.

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

A Mighty Amen

GLENDALE, CALIF.

Permit me to say Amen to Hugh Hardyman in his letter (12/19/55) in your columns pleading most persuasively for a party other than the Janus-headed Demopublic Party now in control of Congress. As one who began voting for LaFollette in 1924, I have habituated myself to the necessity in the 20th century of working for an economy of service rather than profit.

All strength to those valiant men and women within the Democratic party who can clean its Augean stables of subservience to Jim Crow and Cadillac forces within its ranks. But let there also be a vanguard party of socialism which is unambiguous, which forswears all idle chatter about "the lesser evil," and buckles down to the real task of ending capitalism's tyranny over our government and its people.

It is poor politics, worse economics and insufferable religion to continue double talk and double practice while millions in America suffer hunger, slum squalor and racial discrimination to the point of death. It is indeed time for a change that can bring us up to human dignity for everyman.

Stephen H. Fritchman

Magnificent blast

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Dr. Du Bois' magnificent blast at the poisonous vipers of the unreconstructed South sets me shouting and demanding:

"The federal government must, by all means at its command, enforce the United States Constitution!"

"And the walls came a-tumblin' down!" **Reuben W. Borough**

When quality meets . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

That excellent poet, Tom McGrath, suggests in a recent letter that in taking the Fifth Amendment he became part of a "general conspiracy (or coalition) against independent action and a decent prose style."

Simultaneously a score of N.Y. newspaper people risked their careers to keep the Fifth alive. I doubt that their "decent prose style" will suffer therefrom. As for their right to "independent action," they have preserved it by unromantically staying out of jails, which I have reason to believe offer minimal facilities for that kind of thing. I don't think they were part of a "conspiracy" (so strangely equated with coalition) and I hope no one outside the Committee raises that ugly cry against them.

McGrath doesn't much care for lawyers. He says "they have less effect on me than the full moon." A bill framed by lawyers empowered the Committee to summon McGrath before it; a lawyer there questioned him; on the advice of lawyers he took the Fifth, thereby preventing other lawyers from prosecuting him; his employer counseled with still other lawyers and blacklisted him. If he'll only come out from behind that leprechaun, I think he may find both lawyers and the full moon have affected him somewhat more than he thinks.

The Bill of Rights has life only when it is used. I cannot sufficiently express my admiration for those gallant men and women who insist on using it, and for the lawyers who help them use it wisely. **Dalton Trumbo**

Stevenson's alarm

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/9/56) carried a dispatch from Chicago under the heading STEVENSON REPLIES TO EISENHOWER.

"The nation's relationships with other countries," Mr. Stevenson said, "have never been more perilous than now; from Iceland to Japan . . . we have never been in more peril."

For nine solid years now a multi-billion dollars "defense" build-up of armament has been kept up at a furious pace and heavily-armed bases have been established on the territories of many countries; but this apparently does not satisfy Mr. Stevenson. He would make it more expensive and more frantic and provocative of reprisals.

And what is the nature of such "peril" Mr. Stevenson sees? Of late an increasing number of nations have begun to show determination to be independent of dictation from Washington about what their own foreign policy should be. If Mr. Stevenson regards that as proof of "peril" to the U.S.A. he manifests a vastly more obtuse conception of what truly great statesmanship ought to be than Dean Acheson and his successor Dulles.

A. Garcia Diaz

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

If the new capitalism sags on the agricultural sector the reason is, first, that the human stomach can digest only two quarts of food per day, and that agricultural products are the hardest to give away.

If a means could be found for turning butter, eggs, and grain into weapons, the problems would be solved. For there is never an over-production of weapons. As soon as one is perfected, a better one is invented, and the former is obsolescent.

The cold war is not good for orthodox capitalism. But it is first rate for American prosperity.

—Dorothy Thompson in the Toronto **Globe and Mail**, Jan. 9, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: L. Orsage, Detroit. Please send original clipping.

We all object

BAYTOWN, TEX.

I demand that President Eisenhower tell me why long-range, continual communications, an atomic weapon, long-range germ warfare, long-range gas, property of the United States Government, are used on me.

I object to the use of the weapons on my body.

I demand that President Eisenhower get the weapons off of my body permanently.

I demand that the fact that I have made these demands to President Eisenhower be published.

Mrs. H. M. Syler

If . . .

ROCKWELL CITY, IOWA

It seems to me that if the "ins" would cut out so much expenditure for armaments and the building of "iron curtains' around the countries that are foremost in the endeavor for peace, and cut out those atom bomb show-offs to the world, and eliminate the sending of globetrotters here and there—all at taxpapers' expense—they could help the needy, whom they seem to think only exist in Russia and China. **C. C. Womacks**

Sagebrush Curtain

TWIN FALLS, IDAHO

It is a sad commentary on our "Magic Valley," I think, but we live behind the Sagebrush Curtain out here where anything progressive is frowned upon. A person may be termed a "radical" for suggesting that, under a profit system, the farmer should receive a sufficient return for his labor to yield a profit. Or one may be called a "red" for suggesting that possibly Federal development of Hells Canyon would be preferable to private development.

Speaking of the Snake River, it is well to remember that no more than 4% of the power potential has ever been developed. If a person were to subtract the power developed at Anderson Ranch, Palisades, Arrow Rock and the other Federal plants from the total developed at the present time, he would see that the amount developed by the private companies is insignificant when compared with the total potential. **Alfred Riechers**

Poetry on Rosenbergs

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

Sierra Press is planning the publication of a volume of Rosenberg poetry. Poems by Americans, written during or since the Rosenberg campaign, previously published or unpublished, should be sent to Sierra Press, P.O. Box 96, Long Island City 4, N.Y. **M. M.**

Let Congress read

GLEN WILD, N.Y.

The points brought out by Dr. Du Bois' series are very vital today. If possible, everyone should send a copy to their congressman. Let our representatives read the facts and effect of the horrible miscarriages of justice going on in our Southland. **Allen Young**

Hit-run Philbrick

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

On Dec. 15, 1955, there appeared in the Providence **Journal** and **Bulletin** a violent attack upon me, filled with innuendoes and outright lies, written by Herbert A. Philbrick. Although I have written two letters, in reply, and called the **Journal and Bulletin** a number of times they have refused to carry my reply to Philbrick, or the fact that I have wired Philbrick, inviting him to Providence to debate the questions that he brings up. I have, of course, received no reply from Philbrick.

This is the way the "free" press of America operates. How much we appreciate a paper like the GUARDIAN, and how much we need it!

Anyone interested in receiving my reply to Philbrick, which the Providence **Journal and Bulletin** would not print, please drop me a postcard or letter, 113 West Park, Providence 8, R. I. I would also appreciate it if readers of the GUARDIAN would write to the Providence **Journal**, 75 Fountain St., Providence, R. I., protesting their censorship. **Rev. Phillip B. Oliver**

Same to you

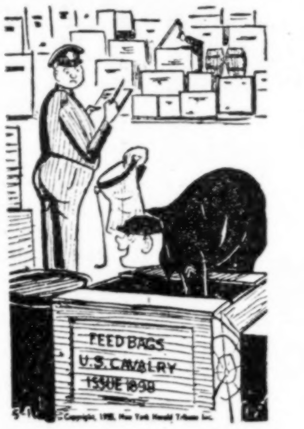
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I have been a subscriber since your very first issue and it finally appears that today's America is opening its eyes to the hysteria and political demagoguery that this newspaper has been fighting ever since that issue back in 1948. Keep on fighting for freedom and democracy and someday, we hope not too far away, you will share in the victory for which you and all of us have been hoping and fighting. May the trend towards sanity continue in America during the coming year and may the GUARDIAN continue to be in the thick of the fight. **Loyal Reader**

Bouquet

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I am taking this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for the heroic stand you take on all issues pertaining to the dignity of man; especially my heartfelt thanks to you for the honorable, staunch stand you take on our civil rights issues. **Mrs. A. Aronoff**


FEED BAGS
U.S. CAVALRY
ISSUE 1898
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N.Y. Herald Tribune

"I can't find the canteens, sir, but we have enough feed bags to last until 1985!"

Fighting Fyke

HIAWATHA, KANSAS

A man in Nashville, Tenn., is making a desperate fight in which every lover of peace should be interested. He is Fyke Farmer (P.O. Box 45, Nashville, Tenn.), and he is suing to enjoin the collection of income taxes for war. He claims that under the Nuremberg international law he has a right, notwithstanding national laws to the contrary, to refrain from any participation in criminal war activities.

Farmer quotes from Henry L. Stimson in **Foreign Affairs** for Jan., 1947, entitled, "Nuremberg; Landmark in Law," as follows:

"A standard has been raised to which Americans at least must repair; for it is only as this standard is accepted, supported and enforced that we can move onward to a world of law and peace."

The government attached Farmer's bank account and $6,750 was paid into the Court by the bank—more than enough to discharge the 1949 assessment. The Director of Internal Revenue moved to have Farmer's suit dismissed but the District Judge denied the motion. Now Farmer has the green light to subpena witnesses and take proof.

Action may be long delayed. In the meantime Farmer has exhausted his resources, and is desperately in need of financial assistance.

Peter B. Ruch

Spain in UN

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On Dec. 15, 1955, fascism won a victory greater than the invasion of France or Poland. The UN turned its back on the resolutions of San Francisco and recognized the right of an Axis power to sit in the UN.

If the re-armament of Nazi Germany, release of German war criminals, and the invasion of Guatemala represented battles won for the new fascism, the admission of Franco represents the victory of the war. What hurts most is that the Soviet Union, which was one of the few nations to aid the betrayed Spanish Republic, has capitulated and permitted Franco to get in. The same Franco who sent his hated Blue Legions to Stalingrad to fight for the German invaders. The same man who said that he hopes to see German bombers flying over America!

The ends of justice will be served when the legitimate Spanish government in Mexico City is recognized in the councils of the UN and with the aid of democratic nations will again resume its rightful place in Madrid. **Connie del Rio**

George Marion

PEKING, CHINA

The dreadful news of George Marion's death—and I had never written him the letter I had intended telling him how much joy his books had brought to the many who had read them here, and that Stop the Press! I read with a young colleague with whom I've been exchanging language lessons. . . . How sad that his powerful pen won't stab where it hurts anymore! It's dreadful how young the men of America die, especially the good ones . . . that strain is also one of the things that'll have to change, we have tempo here too, and how! But, of course, not the stresses and strains that sap one's spirit. Here one just gets sometimes dreadfully tired physically, but if one rests up a bit one is all right again.

Oh, if we could send you people a slice of security! One more victim, George Marion. How much longer, oh Lord? Are the people going to be awake enough in '56 to do something sensible at last?

Lucy Vey

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Freedom to oppose

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS has had its say on the Eastland Committee's scarifying of the New York **Times** and, to the credit of most, the editorial comment has supported the **Times** and rebuked the Committee. Some opinion, notably Walter Lippmann and the Washington **Post & Times Herald**, went further than the **Times'** own editorial position, which conceded the right of the Committee to investigate the press, provided the inquiry be conducted "in good faith and not motivated by ulterior purposes."

Without comparing notes, to be sure, the **Post & Times Herald** voiced the same objection offered by witness William A. Price of the N. Y. **Daily News** (who was fired for being so forthright). This was that the Committee had no right to inquire into an area in which it is constitutionally forbidden to legislate, namely, the press. To concede such a right, the **Post & Times Herald** editorial said

> ". . . opens up fascinating though dangerous possibilities. It might afford justification for some other committee of the Senate to investigate selected newspapers in an effort to show such attempt as may be disclosed to influence or subvert them on the part, say, of the China Lobby or the public utilities or the National Association of Manufacturers. . . ."

Lippmann laid it more precisely on the line:

> "Let the political climate change, let it become again like that of the '30's [Amen!—Ed.], on what legal ground is Congress to be challenged if it chooses to investigate the influence on the press of corporate interests, if, for example, it demands a public accounting of the financial connections and interests of publishers, editors, and reporters?"

ALL WELL AND GOOD, but we at the GUARDIAN find it difficult to identify ourselves with the concerns of Mr. Lippmann. Our concern is whether a newspaper like ours, which disagrees 100% with the Hitler-McCarran-McCarthy myth of a "Communist conspiracy," is to be subject to continuing harassment which to date has involved us in three Congressional inquiries and has cost us the personal guidance and companionship of our founder and editor, Cedric Belfrage, through a McCarthy frameup.

Few and far between were editorial comments of any description on the Belfrage Case; even scarcer were any editorial protestations against the victimization of a succession of nonconformist editors and writers under the Smith Act and the McCarran-Walter Law. The **Daily Worker** recently submitted to the Hennings Committee on Constitutional Rights a survey which showed that newspaper editors or writers were included in six of the eleven Smith Act group arrests so far; and at least 19 persecuted under the McCarran-Walter Law.

WE CONSEQUENTLY take with a grain of salt—not to mention aspirin—all press protestations which fail to countenance the real menace in the situation: the fact that the press in this country which disputes the McCarran Act thesis of the "Communist conspiracy" is under constant harassment and has been for at least seven years. The government has conducted a thousand or more legal actions designed to prove the existence of such a conspiracy. And with all its informers, liars and parrots, it has never succeeded in producing a jot of evidence—although it has executed two people, jailed dozens and deported hundreds for this alleged crime.

Press freedom to support the Cold War and the Big Lie on which it is based has never been in jeopardy; what is at stake is the freedom to oppose.

—THE GUARDIAN

CONGREGATION IS WITH HIM

Melish defies his bishop, conducts a Sunday service after ouster is ordered

THE SCENE IN BROOKLYN'S HOLY TRINITY CHURCH ON SUNDAY, JAN. 11
Mr. Melish (c) kneels on altar steps as Mr. Thomas attempts to speak from pulpit

ON SUNDAY, Jan. 15, the Rev. William Howard Melish conducted what was perhaps the most unusual service in his career. Supported by the overwhelming majority of his parishioners, he led the service at the Holy Trinity Church in Brooklyn while another minister conducted a rival service for the same congregation from a pulpit a few feet away. The story made the front page of every metropolitan daily in New York.

The day before, dissident vestrymen, who have been trying to oust Mr. Melish, had changed all 40 locks and placed a private detective on guard in the church. Bishop DeWolfe of the Long Island Diocese had arranged for Rev. Robert K. Thomas to conduct the Jan. 15 services as a supply priest. Policemen appeared in front of the church Sunday morning to prevent any disorder.

There was none. Congregation members had removed the locks, and the parishioners went in early Sunday morning, augmented by a number of private detectives, newsmen and press photographers. Parishioners told police an illegal attempt was being made to keep them out of their own church.

LOCK-OUT: Warden Lewis Reynolds, leader of the move to oust Melish, told Cameron Beadle, chairman of the parish committee to retain the acting rector:

> "It is un-Christian to force locks on a church."

Beadle answered:

> "It is not Episcopalian to lock out members of the parish."

With utmost decorum, despite the flashing of photographer's bulbs, the congregation followed Mr. Melish's service. All but a handful ignored the Rev. Thomas. At one point the two ministers called for different psalms and the congregation divided, singing both simultaneously, with Melish's hymn predominating. In the middle of the service Mr. Thomas left the church, followed by very few. Most of the 400 parishioners stayed on until Mr. Melish closed the service.

The unusual Sunday service followed a turbulent week at Holy Trinity. This is the church which, for the past six years, Mr. Melish and his parishioners have maintained as "a symbol of the people's struggle for freedom from coercive authority in the exercise of the life of the spirit."

THE BISHOP: On Jan. 10, two church wardens and four of the seven vestrymen, ignoring a resolution by the parishioners urging delay, voted to replace Mr. Melish with Rev. Irving S. Pollard as rector of Holy Trinity. When Bishop DeWolfe approved the replacement the next day, they put the Melishes on notice to vacate the parsonage within 30 days. They arranged with Bishop DeWolfe for a substitute priest for Sunday. At the urging of his parishioners, Mr. Melish decided to conduct services as usual and wrote to Bishop DeWolfe asking a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The N. Y. **Daily News** (1/16) said Melish

> ". . . quoted the bishop as having written to him: 'I will give you my Godly advice, which is to absent yourself from Holy Trinity this Sunday.' Then he [Melish] added, 'It is obvious I ignored his Godly advice.'"

HOW IT STARTED: Conflict at Holy Trinity began in 1949, when Mr. Melish was serving as assistant to his father, Dr. John Howard Melish, rector of the Holy Trinity for 45 years. That year Bishop DeWolfe demanded the removal of the younger Melish who, for a time, was chairman of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship. When Dr. Melish rejected the bishop's demand, he was himself ordered removed as rector.

The matter went to the courts after an injunction was obtained to enforce the ouster of Dr. Melish. In 1951, the Supreme Court refused to review the issue, although the Melishes were supported by most of the parishioners and by more than 2,500 Protestant clergymen. With the approval of the parishioners, William Howard Melish has been serving as rector of Holy Trinity since that time.

"BREACH OF FAITH": On Jan. 11 three vestrymen—Dr. Phillips Brooks, John H. Burke and E. DeWitt Ramel—who were not present at the ouster meeting, wired this protest to Bishop DeWolfe:

> " . . . on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the [parishioners] entitled to vote at its elections we consider the [ouster] resolution a nullity and will act accordingly."

Calling the action "a breach of faith with the parishioners," the three vestrymen accused the others of secretly initiating the matter and persisting in it "despite the unanimous opposition of the parishioners manifested" at a meeting the previous Sunday. They emphasized that the present vestry, when it was elected, pledged "to consult the wishes of the parishioners in the matter of a rector." They proposed to place the matter before the parishioners at the annual election on April 2 and "to abide by a majority vote."

They said also that the ouster meeting lacked a quorum required by the religious corporation law governing the powers of a vestry. Under this law five vestrymen, in addition to the two wardens, are required to be present; only four attended. The wire asked the bishop "not to confound our difficulty by approving an illegal act."

NON-ABSTRACT RELIGION: In his sermon Jan. 8, Mr. Melish said that "the relations between people in this parish have been a rare and beautiful thing." He said members of minority groups sit on the vestry; vestry members were selected not because of their means and contributions "but the service they have rendered." "Religion," he declared, "is no abstract thing [in Holy Trinity] but a life immediately related to all life, as we feel, and teach and practice it."

He noted that the present vestry came into being in a struggle to assert the congregation's democratic rights to determine "its policies and the ministry that will affect its life [and] to respect and reflect" the congregation's will. Mr. Melish said the issue at stake was

> ". . . the congregation's rights and the preservation of a free parish from being sold out and destroyed without its people's consent. . . . It is a question of a free church versus a conformist church."

FOR PEACE: Mr. Melish has already received strong support from prominent clergymen such as Rev. Walter Russell Bowie, Rev. Joseph H. Titus and Rev. Guy Emery Shipler. At presstime he and his parishioners, unless prevented by court order, planned to continue the normal activities of Holy Trinity.

Concerning his personal activities, Melish told reporters on Sunday:

> "I'll support any organization that is for peace and that has a Christian objective. It doesn't matter to me if they are allegedly Communist fronts or any other front organizations."

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH
The meaning of religion

The only valid touchstone for a church

Following are extracts from Mr. Melish' sermon of Sunday, Jan. 15.

HOLY TRINITY, as a New Testament church, cannot remain a little island of choice life sufficient unto itself; we, too, are called to become a center for the radiation of the new life that we have come to share. Our task is to touch the secular community of which we remain a part until we have transformed it even as we ourselves are in process of being transformed. . . .

It is not our function to be particular and to choose one kind of people, congenial to us. For a church in the New Testament spirit, neither wealth nor poverty, no ethnic or national origin, no color of skin or manner of speech, can be a criterion of membership. The response of individual men and women to [the Gospel] constitutes the only valid touchstone of a church's membership. . . .

We have among our members people with quite different points of view on many current issues, and we hope that this will always be true. We do not believe it is our function to ask members to conform to any set of transitory social, economic or political opinions. . . . As every serious student of the faith well knows, many Christians vary widely in their social deductions from religious premises; the task of the church is surely to keep alive the religious premises and to encourage all genuine deductions and conscientious attempts at application. . . .

We are living in an age of great intellectual expansion and rapid social change. For many people, the traditional statements of Christian doctrine cause grave difficulties of belief at points which these very statements, in an earlier and simpler age of human thought, were intended to clarify. Hence our attitude towards doctrine is to treat it as no final dogma to be insisted upon—or else, but to approach it, in our teaching and preaching methods, by induction, moving from experience to interpretation, from recognized human needs to Christian answers, until we come to see what many of us profoundly hold—that the great Biblical truths are not only relevant but helpful, desirable, indeed, utterly indispensable. . . .

THEY DEPORT PEOPLE FROM ENGLAND TOO

Britain, Iraq—and the boys who learned freedom

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

ON THE WEEK-END when this issue of the GUARDIAN appears, New Yorkers will be gathering at the banquet honoring a man and a woman who stand under the grimmest of shadows. Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak are sensitive and incorruptible people, loving life too much to care to protect their own at the expense of principles involving the birthright of their brothers and sisters everywhere. If they were not such people they would not have been sentenced to deportation to Syngman Rhee's Korea as human sacrifices to the cold-war Moloch.

They are not the first to stand under this shadow, and there will be more before the people put an end to the diplomats' horrible game played with human pawns. Many who do not know the Kwaks as I do send their loving thoughts to add to their strength as they fight not only for themselves, but for all the others.

A similar fight is going on here over the bodies of three young people whom I do not know, only one of whom I have been able to meet for half an hour. I don't know what their politics are, only that they seem to be accused of catching the infection of freedom. The country from which they come—and to which, as I write, they are threatened with being shipped back in a few days—is Iraq.

BRITAIN'S OWN RHEE: What Rhee's Korea is in relation to the U.S. government, Iraq is in relation to the British. It is in the disastrous and hopeless Middle Eastern game of Britain's Tory diplomats that these three students have become pawns. Iraq is the keystone of the jerry-built arch of the Baghdad Pact, the NATO or SEATO of the Middle East with Turkey and Pakistan as its western and eastern end-men. Britain sends Iraq copious supplies of modern arms while newspapers yell about shipments to Egypt of ancient surplus tanks which might be used against Israel. But Iraqi dictator Gen. Nuri es-Said lets cats out of bags with Rhee-like lack of inhibitions. He told his "parliament" this month, as reported in the London **News Chronicle:**

> "Iraq will not hesitate to use against Israel—should fighting break out—the modern arms presented by Britain and America, including last week's gift of Centurion tanks. . . . The Baghdad Pact was brought into being as a deterrent to Soviet aggression. But Russia is not Iraq's main concern. Iraq's main problem is to solve the Palestine question by practical ways."

What sort of a country is Iraq? Very little information about it ever gets into the British press. The best sources are in Egypt, the Arab country which—while far from democratic—is pursuing a neutral policy in the cold war. Arabic students can piece a picture together from Egyptian newspapers and broadcasts from Cairo's Sawt Al-Arab station. The chief broadcaster is the Iraqi lawyer Adnan Al-Rawi, a right-wing nationalist of the banned Al-Istiqlal Party who fled from Iraq and whose citizenship Baghdad has taken away.

UNITY UNDERGROUND: In Iraq all parties have been banned ever since the British-sponsored Nuri es-Said regime took over in 1954. Until then four more-or-less-left parties, one center nationalist and three on the right existed legally under constant intimidation. The Communist Party, existing since the war and with a paper called **Base**, has always been underground. No organization of any kind, not even a sports club, is now permitted without government approval. At present there seems to be a measure of working unity between the underground parties including the Arab Revival and the recently-formed left socialist parties. Accepting no criticism from any quarter, the government has even jailed fascists of the "wrong" type.

Many thousands of opponents of the regime are in jail. The government runs three so-called "military training camps" in the north, center and south (near Basra, in the worst climate on earth)—in fact penal forced-labor camps where conditions are appalling. Cairo recently reported that two high police officers who somehow aroused official displeasure were sent to one of these camps. Many inmates are students and professors who have questioned the infallibility of Nuri es-Said.

BRITAIN'S CHIEF MISCHIEF MAN

John Glubb (c), boss of the Arab Legion based in Jordan, is doing his best (with poor success) to sell the people of Jordan on the virtues of the Baghdad Pact.

Students are the big headache of the dictatorship as they are of most dictatorships. The worst pain is evidently caused by those who are sent abroad, mostly on government grants, to acquire special training which the regime hopes to put to its loyal service. Of these, some 500 are in London.

These students were encouraged to come under the wing of the Anglo-Iraqi Society, in which embassy officials and former British officials in Iraq predominate. But the freedom germ did its sinister work, and the youngsters formed their own Iraqi Students Society where they freely discuss their mutual problems. The consequent decline of the Anglo-Iraqi Society is recorded in that organization's last annual report. Some 75% of the students are now members of the ISS.

GO HOME OFFICE: Action from Baghdad did not take long. By early 1955, 13 students had had their government grants suspended. The idea was to set an example by forcing the 13 to come home. The plan didn't work out. Of the 13, six raised enough money privately to stay in London; the other seven were enabled to stay by a fund to which the entire ISS membership contributed. Last July the passports of 14 students were withdrawn, and the British Home Office notified three of these that they must go home. The ISS raised the issue with the Natl. Union of Students and it was taken up by several MP's. The Home Office felt the pressure and announced that lack of passports was not a consideration: the students could stay and complete their studies provided they had enough money and their academic and general behavior records were satisfactory.

But this month the Home Office gave three students a deadline of Jan. 20 for deportation back to Iraq. All three are members of distinguished Iraq families: sons of a retired general, a former cabinet minister, and the brother of Iraq's ambassador to Iran.

TORY "STAR CHAMBER": Last week William Griffiths, MP for Manchester Exchange, charged in a letter to the press that the three are being expelled as

> ". . . victims of a 20th century Tory 'Star Chamber.' Their crime? They have not been told. Nor have I, though I have interviewed Mr. William Deedes, MP, the Tory second-in-command at the Home Office. He could only tell me that their continued presence in Britain is 'against public interest.' The three cannot be faulted on grounds of work, conduct or destitution. Indeed, one of them, I. S. Nuri, resident here for over four years, is within six months of his finals for a degree in electrical engineering. Yet, without any charges being leveled against them . . . they are told that they MUST go.
>
> "It has been reported in Iraq that at least one member of Nuri Said's government has expressed the hope that the British government would 'cooperate' by expelling those Iraqi students in Britain who have incurred the displeasure of Baghdad. Can it be that 'against the public interest' is the flimsy excuse used by Britain's Home Secy. to conceal the appeasement of the Iraq government? After all, the frivolous men in this Tory government who can send Centurion tanks and other modern weapons to Iraq will not worry about throwing in three Arab students who have become contaminated possibly with liberal ideas during their stay in Britain."

ON FREEDOM'S ALTAR: Griffiths was referring to the statement by Iraq's former Education Minister, reported in **Iraq Times** last July, that "certain Communists" among the students in Britain were "spreading ideas" to the others and that Baghdad was "looking forward to the co-operation of the British authorities in canceling their residence permits."

The pattern is familiar. Judging from the one student I have met out of the three—whose identity I had better not even divulge—the charge of "communism" is strictly from the Arabian Nights, and the Home Office does not dare repeat it. The British government, says the Home Office, has Baghdad's "assurance" that there will be no persecution of the three. One thing must be avoided at all costs: realization by the public that the West's "defense" pacts against "Soviet aggression" are built upon bloody Hitler-type dictatorships all over the world.

The fight of all good people goes on, to stop these human sacrifices on the altar inscribed "freedom" and "respect for the dignity of the individual."

DANGER TO FOREIGN BORN

Distinguished sponsors defend the ACPFB against Brownell's attempt to smear it

LAST WEEK in Washington a Gold Star mother appeared as a witness for the 23-year-old American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born before the Subversive Activities Control Board. The Committee has been fighting since last June against Atty. Gen. Brownell's attempt to force it to register as a "communist front" organization under the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950. The woman was Mrs. Sadie Saltzman. She told the Board:

> "When my husband Benjamin was arrested for deportation, my children and I were terribly panicky and upset. What helped most was that we found the American Committee was honestly defending us."

Mrs. Saltzman was preceded by ACPFB honorary co-chairman Louise Pettibone Smith, Dr. Anton J. Carlson, a sponsor, and exec. secy. Abner Green.

BIBLICAL PRECEPT: Miss Smith, prof. emeritus of Biblical history, Wellesley College, refuted Brownell's allegation that "the CP put officials on the committee." She said she joined the committee because it upheld the Biblical precept of "one law for both the native and the foreign born." She testified that she worked with leading educators, scientists and clergymen in the committee to prevent hardships inflicted on the foreign born and their families by the Walter-McCarran Act. She said:

> "I've met these people personally and found what fine persons they are."

Dr. Carlson, prof. emeritus of physiology, Univ. of Chicago, declared that

> ". . . immigrants, non-citizens and naturalized citizens face laws that are contrary to the welfare of the world as well as the welfare of the U.S."

DUTY TO HUMANITY: Dr. Carlson said he supported and sponsored the ACPFB's work

> ". . . because the present and future of man depends on society and human behavior . . . it is up to us to improve the conditions of mankind."

Questioned about the ACPFB's defense of the rights of non-citizens who are past or present CP members, he said:

> "The Communist is a human being, the CP is a legal party in the U. S. Communists should be judged on the basis of their actions rather than pretended beliefs."

Dr. Carlson is a consultant for the U. S. Public Health Service and the Food and Drug Administration, as well as a member of the Medical and Research Committee of the Natl. Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

Green denied the story told by professional informer John Lautner that the CP decided to make him exec. secy. of the ACPFB in 1942. He noted that he took the job in 1941. Green's testimony was expected to be interrupted for other defense witnesses.

LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH

A Biblical precept is upheld

WHY THE ATTACK: The ACPFB today is defending more than 400 persons threatened with denaturalization or deportation. Green said Brownell seeks to discredit it because it is the only national organization which has

> ". . . time and again succeeded in exposing the illegal and inhuman practices of the Justice Dept. in its treatment of foreign-born Americans."

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

> lost. . . . We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action."

WITHOUT DELUSION: "Brink of war" diplomacy is simply another name for the "policy of atomic deterrent," which Winston Churchill and President Truman proclaimed when World War II was barely over. The "atomic deterrent" has remained ever since the unquestioned basis of Western policy, endorsed by Democrats and Republicans, Laborites and Tories, Socialists and Rightists. The London **Economist** bluntly pointed out that Dulles' "brink of war" diplomacy is one to which all supporters of the policy of strength do and must subscribe since, without willingness to employ the "deterrent," the policy is meaningless. "Western man," it said,

> ". . . should not delude himself that deterrents are discredited or a sham—not even if Mr. Dulles has made a far-fetched claim. For it is on deterrents—and on the willingness (lacking too often in the past) to go to the 'brink of war' for the sake of peace—that collective western policy is built."

The N. Y. **Times** (1/14) also noted that Dulles was simply trying "to emphasize the established American policy of peace through strength." It found unfortunate only "the specific manner in which this has been done," since he has "thereby unwittingly impaired the very policy he seeks to support."

A BACKWARD LOOK: Widespread consternation at official levels, at home and abroad, stemmed from the fact that Dulles had let the cat out of the bag: he not only admitted but openly boasted that Western policy is one of creating tension and war crises.

Only the more thoughtful of the Western public will think back to the E. European crisis whipped up by the U. S.'s Brynes and Britain's Bevin in late summer of 1945; the Churchill-Truman Iran crisis of early 1946—a crisis designed, said **NYT** (3/21/46), to halt "the momentum of pro-Soviet feeling worked up during the war"; the 1947 Greece-Turkey crisis, and so on down the cold war years.

But even the less thoughtful can hardly escape some understanding of the desperate dangers involved in the God-play of Washington's cold warriors at the edge of an H-bomb precipice.

MEETING FEB. 4

Stowe heads group of justice in Miss.

A GRANDSON of Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose **Uncle Tom's Cabin** 100 years ago helped turn the nation away from slavery, has accepted the chairmanship of a Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi. He is Lyman Beecher Stowe, author and lecturer. The new committee has called a public meeting for Feb. 8 at Manhattan Center, New York City, to protest denial of justice in the Emmett Till murder and other cases. Announcing the meeting Mr. Stowe said:

> "It is imperative that democratic America raise its voice to demand redress and reform. Federal intervention must provide protection to the Negro people, bring the murderers to justice, and compel respect for the Supreme Court decision on desegregation."

A sponsoring group in formation for the meeting includes Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, artists Philip Evergood and Robert Gwathmey, Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Dr. Otto Nathan, Rev. Pablo Rodriguez, attorney Frank Serri, Peter K. Hawley, state chairman of the New York American Labor Party; John T. McManus, general manager of the GUARDIAN; Guy W. Brewer, Queens civic leader and others. Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac is secretary of the group, which has taken headquarters at 13 W. 42d St., N. Y. C.

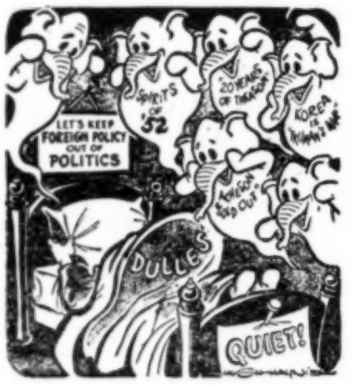
Lest we forget

THEY [the Democrats] are not disturbed when they loudly criticize the bankruptcy of Republican diplomacy, a trifle forgetful of the fact that it is practically identical with that of the Truman administration. It is to defend himself against these accusations, and especially against the reproach of "Munichism," more and more frequently leveled at him, that M. Foster Dulles had his friends at **Life** publish the article. . . .

[The Russians] have scored too many points to allow for doubts concerning the [American] genius for diplomacy dominated by military concepts which shows itself incapable of resisting the adversary when he shifts to aid and propaganda. It is doubtful that M. Dulles, when he returns to India, will receive as enthusiastic a greeting as MM. Khrushchev and Bulganin. Paris **Le Monde,** Jan. 13.

WHAT FOSTER SAYS: Democrats seized on the Dulles' "blunder" as election year manna. Since they have no real policy differences with Dulles, as James Reston pointed out (**NYT,** 1/15), their biggest foreign policy issue has become "Mr. Dulles himself." And it is not what Dulles does "but what he says [that] drives them nuts." For if Dulles' reckless boasts make him an easy election year target, they also make bipartisanship in maintaining the cold war (to which the Democrats are dedicated) the more difficult.

The Alsops, commenting (9/14/53) on some of Dulles' "nightmarish" risks of that time, likened him to "a dashing and fearless gambler, on the old Mississippi River pattern, willing to risk all on the turn of a card." Harry Truman, who jumped into the Korean War and ringed Formosa with the 7th Fleet, earned no small reputation as a gambler too. But he was less frank about his adventurism.



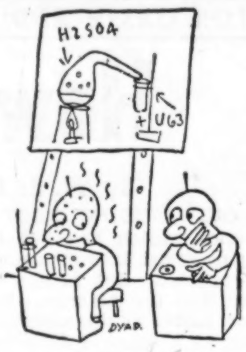
The Atlantic Journal

RETURN OF THE NATIVES

For allied governments, whose failures have already brought them instability (as in France) or harsh attack (as in Britain), the Dulles' boasts make continued support of U. S. policy more difficult. Their peoples want "not to edge up to the brink of vast hostilities, but to make all honorable speed in the other direction" (**Christian Science Monitor,** 1/13). Some W. European diplomats believed that as a result of Dulles' "disclosure" Britain and France "cannot remain just where they are vis a vis the U. S.," but must now either break away from U. S. policy or move closer to it (**CSM,** 1/13).

THE SIX MONTHS: Allied governments, however, have given no sign of a breakaway and can hardly profess to be horrified by a policy to which they have given all-out support, especially in the half year since Geneva. In that period, when real opportunities existed to press alternative policies, these governments:

- Scrapped their disarmament proposals, which the U. S. S. R. had accepted, because the U. S. wanted no restrictions on nuclear war.
- Supported the President's "open skies" plan, knowing it had been advanced as a propaganda screen to hide U. S. unwillingness to disarm.
- Committed NATO, at its December Council meeting, even further to nuclear strategy.
- Laid aside the Paris Accord controls on W. German rearmament to permit the unrestricted rearming of W. Germany.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Swap you a lump of U.231 for a stick of Z.101!"

And in the UN they:

- Backed up the U. S.'s refusal to ban H-bomb tests.
- Supported the rigid U. S. opposition to any moves toward a Far East settlement.
- Are now reported prepared to support the U. S. in its determination to break the Geneva Armistice in Indo-China by refusing to permit nation-wide elections this June.

THERE IS NO BLUFF: Now these governments profess alarm because Dulles—thanks to the support they have given him—is once again able to start mobilizing a new march to the "brink of war," and to serve notice that it is no bluff. For this is the real meaning of the publication of the remarkable **Life** interview. The N. Y. **Post** pointed out (1/15):

> "If Dulles' words mean anything, they mean that a Communist attack on Matsu and Quemoy would invite immediate atomic reprisal. . . . Consider the consequences of this position. The U. S. is currently making no serious effort to end the Formosa deadlock. The Communist build-up continues. . . . We have therefore clearly demonstrated anew 'the ability to get to the verge.' . . . The ugly fact is that Dulles prefers to risk war over Formosa rather than face the fury of the China Lobby battalions."

The **Life** interview dovetails with Dulles' recent warnings to Senate committees of an expected crisis over Quemoy and Matsu this spring. It is also in accord with recent renewed emphasis on A and H bombs as U. S. trump cards: the hints by Adm. Radford and Air Force Secy. Quarles that such bombs are stored in the Pacific ready for use and will be distributed, should the occasion arise, to Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee.

BRUSHOFF FOR POPE: It fits in also with the casual brushoff given the Pope's plea for a ban on H-bomb tests (AEC chairman Strauss said agreement on such a ban would be "an act of naiveté, indeed of the greatest folly"); and with the whole purport of the President's State of the Union message which was to reaffirm the policy of massive retaliation and close the door to any kind of disarmament.

(Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips pointed out in the **New Republic** (1/16) that the President's words mean we are "building nuclear weapons so far into our military capabilities that any war in which we are engaged must necessarily be nuclear from now on.")

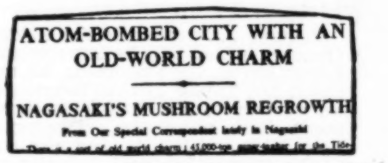
That Dulles' interview was published on the eve of Prime Minister Eden's visit here served to underline Washington's apparent determination to stand pat on every rigid position of its diplomacy, at whatever risk. Dulles has exposed Western policy in its naked bankruptcy. To "Moscow's gay initiative" in world affairs (so termed by Joseph C. Harsch, **CSM,** 1/10), Washington can reply with what the London **Daily Mail** (1/13) called Dulles' "dance of death up to the brink of the pit and back again."

THE COMPETITION: Moscow is offering Asian and African countries the fruits of collaboration with both worlds—east and west; long term trade agreements enabling them to sell their agricultural products and buy industrial equipment in return; technical and engineering assistance. A "Wake Up" alert warning of the "dangers" of this new "offensive" has been sounded by the Administration (see Kumar Goshal, p. 7). But the opposition of Democratic Senator George (who faces an election contest with anti-foreign demagogue Herman Talmadge) and of Senator Knowland seemed to promise a brief awakening only.

Washington cannot offer undeveloped countries much in the way of economic aid; nor markets for their agricultural products (its own farm surpluses threaten their economies). It doesn't want to sell them industrial equipment. And it must insist that they choose sides.

THE WORLD GROWS: The difficulty with all-out reliance on the power of the atom is, as Hanson Baldwin commented (**NYT,** 1/), that "the atom is powerful but it is not very flexible, politically, or psychologically [or] even militarily. . . ."

The world is growing around, over, and beyond the rigid positions of Washington's atomic diplomacy and in time must overwhelm them. The frightening thing about the **Life** interview, said one UN observer, is that Dulles and his kind really believe this process can be halted by atomic bombs.



ATOM-BOMBED CITY WITH AN OLD-WORLD CHARM

NAGASAKI'S MUSHROOM REGROWTH

From Our Special Correspondent lately in Nagasaki

London Times, Jan. 4, 1956

THURSDAY, JAN. 26

Meeting in Phila. for Dr. Blumberg

A PUBLIC MEETING on the case of Smith Act defendant Dr. Albert Blumberg has been called for Thursday evening, Jan. 26, at the New Century Auditorium, 124 S. 12th St., Philadelphia. Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Rutgers Univ. economics professor, author Barrows Dunham and Dr. Blumberg will speak.

Dr. Blumberg is to stand trial on Monday, Jan. 30, at Philadelphia's Federal Court House, 9th and Market Sts., charged with being a member of the Communist Party. He is the third to be tried under the Smith Act's "membership" clause. The cases of Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales are being appealed.

Dr. Blumberg's lawyer is former first asst. district atty. Michael von Moschzisker. A Committee to Defend Dr. Albert E. Blumberg has been formed at 80-24 Roanoke St., Phila., 18.

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WHAT OF THE QUEEN?

Brownell is silent as criticism grows in the Taylor case

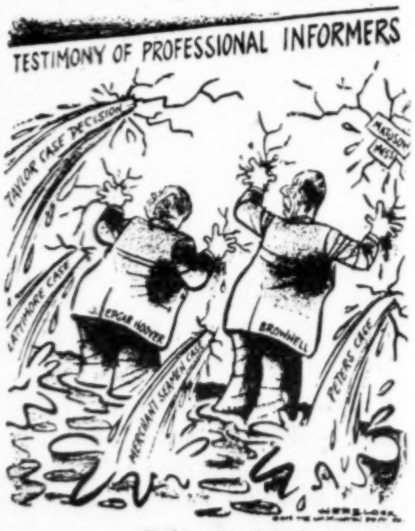
THERE WAS AN awkward, uncomfortable silence last week from men in Washington who for eight years had tried to get the scalp of economist William Henry Taylor. They had denounced him as a spy, driven him from his government job and tried to oust him from the Intl. Monetary Fund.

Early this month the Intl. Organization Employes Loyalty Board, a U.S. agency for screening American nationals working for international agencies, reversed a previous decision and gave Taylor a clean bill of health. But Atty. Gen. Brownell, FBI Chief Hoover, Sens. Eastland (D-Miss.) and McCarthy (R-Wis.) had publicly smeared Taylor and called him a spy. Two Secretaries of the Treasury, John W. Snyder and George W. Humphrey, had called for his dismissal and retirement from public life.

RETRACTION DEMANDED: Demands were made last week for some explanation. Taylor's attorney Byron W. Scott referred to Brownell's and Hoover's damning spy charge before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee on Nov. 17, 1953, and said:

> "I have . . . written to the Attorney General demanding he issue a public retraction of the statement he made about Mr. Taylor at that hearing and an apology to Mr. Taylor for having made that unfounded statement. I have also written to the chairman of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee demanding he issue a public retraction of the statement made in its July 30, 1953 report. . . ."

Brownell and Hoover had built their case on the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, but they can scarcely claim to be innocent dupes of the "Spy Queen." The FBI failed to find glaring self-contradictions in her statements which Taylor and Scott detected easily. The government refused to let her take the stand for cross-examination and quashed all subpenas for her. The fact that she never knew Taylor, about whom she testified, would not have reached the public if Taylor's attorneys had not wrung it from her in the course of a libel suit against the Washington **Daily News.**



Herblock in Washington Post

THE BOYS AT THE DIKE

WHO STARTED IT ALL? J. Edgar Hoover told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in 1953 that Bentley had been

> ". . . subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviewed by the courts, and has been found to be accurate."

Last year Sen. Eastland found her story "flawlessly truthful." The flaw in Taylor's case, now exposed, struck at the whole witch-hunt. Columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop wrote in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/9):

> "The courage and fairness of the loyalty board, in thus admitting its own hideous error, cannot be overpraised, but what about the testimony of Miss Bentley, who started the whole business? What about the government preparation of the case against Taylor, which was a mass of smears and poison pen letters, by the loyalty board's own final verdict?
>
> "And what about Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, who had the responsibility for the preparation of the government case?
>
> "Brownell publicly denounced Taylor as a spy on the basis, apparently, of the cheap, trumped-up stuff that the loyalty board has now decisively thrown out of court. What has he to say now? These are questions that have to be answered, if American justice means anything at all."

NO AMENDS YET: The Washington **Post** said editorially (1/10):

> "This finding is not only a vindication of Mr. Taylor; it is also an indictment of Miss Bentley, of Hoover who vouched for Miss Bentley's credibility in sweeping and extravagant terms, and of Brownell who called Mr. Taylor a spy before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, presumably on the basis of Miss Bentley's allegations. Will they make amends as honorably as the loyalty board has done?"

No answers or amends came from Washington last week or from Coteau, La., where the "Spy Queen" is listed as a teacher in the College of the Sacred Heart. The government seemed clearly in a spot. To wash its hands of Elizabeth Bentley would cast into question the gigantic hoax of a "communist conspiracy." It would reopen the cases of hundreds of other Bentley victims, fired, deported, and jailed. It would cast new doubts on the government's case which sent Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to their death and Morton Sobell to Alcatraz.

COLOR CASTE AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

How united are Negroes?

By W. E. B. Du Bois

THE OUTSTANDING FACT about the Negro group in America, which has but lately gained notice, is that it is flying apart into opposing economic classes. This was to be expected. But most people, including myself, long assumed that the American Negro, forced into social unity by color caste, would achieve economic unity as a result, and rise as a mass of laborers led by intelligent planning to a higher unity with the laboring classes of the world.

This has not happened. On the contrary, and quite logically, the American Negro is today developing a distinct bourgeoisie bound to and aping American acquisitive society and developing an employing and a laboring class. This division is only in embryo, but it can be sensed.

FRANKLIN FRAZIER

-It was published in French

In New York the Negro families receiving an income of $5,000 and more a year form about 10 per cent of the Negro population. That means that they have an income of at least $30,000,000 a year which puts some of them into the capitalist class. On the other hand, there are at least 50,000 Negro families in the city whose income is less than $1,000 a year, which is near pauperism. They are open to exploitation and crime.

THE NEGRO BUSINESSMAN: In the 18th century, the Negro slaves and freedmen were guided within by Negro religious preachers in church units. Then, in the 19th century, they developed leaders in the Abolition movement. After emancipation they had the intelligent leadership of preachers, teachers and artists who, together with philanthropic black men of affairs, guided and advised the group.

But from 1910 until after the First World War, Negro businessmen forged to the front and today they form the most powerful class among Negroes and dominate their thought and action. This class bases its ideals on American business methods and aims. They spend conspicuously, organize for widespread social enjoyment and extravagance and regard the private profit motive as the end of thought and life.

The 300 or more Negro newspapers, with few exceptions, are mouthpieces of this bourgeoisie and bow to the dictates of big business which monopolizes newsprint, world news and credit facilities. Franklin Frazier, a leading American sociologist, once president of the American Sociological Society, has recently emphasized the significance of this development in his **Bourgeoisie Noire,** published in French in the Librairie Plon, in Paris.

THE NEGRO WORKER: Negro public opinion is thus tied to current American thought either by reasons of security or sometimes by direct money bribery, especially during political campaigns. The dream among the intelligentsia of an independent Negro vote devoted to Negro progress, has therefore largely disappeared except under stress of some particular outrage like the Till murder.

Class differentiation in Negro organizations is developing more slowly than in general life. In the church organizations there is a distinction between the churches of the very poor and ignorant and those of the well-to-do. But in the latter the main support comes from the workers; and in control the physician often shares office and power with the janitor and porter.

In a mass organization like the NAACP, the bulk of support from the beginning has come from the working class. Recently the well-to-do and rich have notably increased their contributions. It is still the dollars of the poor which support the organization and keep it a popular movement, except in some localities. The Negro control of the organization also is still the domain of the Negro intelligentsia rather than the businessman.

Opposite the small Negro bourgeoisie is the great mass of black labor. It is at present only vaguely aware of its conflict of interest with the Negro businessman. This businessman employs a considerable number of Negroes and exploits them quite as much and often more than whites because of the limited jobs open to Negroes. As, however, the Negro laborer joins the white unions, he is drawn into the great labor movement and begins to recognize black business exploitation. But the main mass of American labor is at present in conservative unions under reactionaries like Meany. So far as these unions admit Negroes, the Negroes follow the reactionary philosophy of the white.

Here the black, like the white, is restrained by charges of subversion and fear of loss of jobs.

TABULATION IS DIFFICULT: This complicated picture of the situation of the American Negro is difficult to tabulate but I am going to try. This table (see p. 7) is not mathematically accurate since there are no complete figures in existence for such a compilation. This is an estimate based on partial figures and on estimates. The population is based on the 1950 census. The Mountain Section and Far West are omitted. They contain only 571,000 Negroes and have no unified attitude toward them. Southern California and the Northwest are Southern in treatment of Negroes; Central California is Northern.

The table in the main is self-explanatory. For all overall statements there are always some local exceptions, and the whole inter-racial relationship varies from time to time. This is the picture which seems true at the beginning of 1956. We would welcome factual corrections.

THEY ARE A MIXTURE: It must, of course, be realized by Americans as well as by foreigners that the 15,000,000 American Negroes are not a mass of persons belonging to one race. They are a mixture of African and European peoples and American Indians. They are of all colors of skin from white to black and every degree of economic situation and culture. Much of the Negro problem stems from these facts. Their unity heretofore has been spiritual as much as physical and today they can scarcely be distinguished from Sicilians, Egyptians or Berbers; not even entirely from Asians.

Of the total result of the forces thus tabulated, no one can be sure today, but the situation needs careful watching. The liberal and radical American forces cannot count on Negro following so long as Negroes get jobs and make money and continue to be satisfied with their present status as half or three-quarters free. But conservative and industrial Americans also cannot count on Negro following if caste allows disfranchisement and results in unpunished murder.

Meantime the Negro intelligentsia must reassert its influence on the mass of Negro labor and wheel it into step with the world labor movement, especially in Asia and Africa; of which today Black America dare not talk.

Eastlandism

THE NEGRO RACE is an inferior race. The Negro organizations which are supporting this measure [FEPC] know that today all the power in the world could not bring about social equality, and could not force the white people of this country to associate on terms of equality with the Negro race. . . .

We hear a great deal of talk about racism, and condemnation of the idea of racism in America. It is said to be bad. It is said that when one is a racist he is a fascist. Mr. President, a man bereft of racial pride is weak. I say frankly that I am proud of the white race. I know that the white race is a superior race.

History has always shown that when races are brought in close contact one with another, unless they are absolutely segregated, amalgamation results.

SEN. EASTLAND, chairman of the Internal Security subcommittee in Senate debate, June 29, 1945.

Patronize GUARDIAN Advertisers

THE "SOVIET CHALLENGE"

American aid to Asia: Just what has it been?

By Kumar Goshal

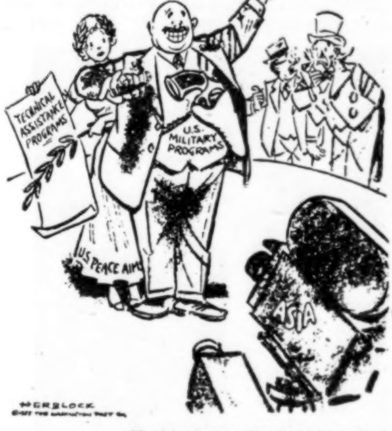
(First of two articles)

AMERICAN AID to Asia's underdeveloped countries promises to be a highly publicized and controversial subject in 1956. The Eisenhower administration had planned to taper off all foreign aid but was obliged to reconsider because of what it called "the new Soviet challenge"—the socialist world's developing trade and economic co-operation with the underdeveloped countries.

Earmarked as "military and economic assistance," American aid to Asia up to now has been primarily military. It has gone overwhelmingly to countries having actual or potential U. S. control of their raw material resources; and to feudal, unpopular governments willing to join Washington's military pacts in its "crusade against communism." Washington reasoned that

> ". . . vulnerable militarily and . . . underdeveloped economically, these countries need help to resist internal subversion as well as outside attack" (N. Y. **Times**, 3/27/55).

Among the few countries who have received aid, although not militarily allied to the U. S., India since 1947 has received $478 million in economic aid. This included a $200 million wheat loan and food contributions, loans and grants from the Rockefeller and other foundations. Washington has looked on aid to India with a jaundiced eye because of its neutralist policy; but, at the urging of former Ambassador Chester Bowles and others to woo India as a balance to China, the U. S. allocated about $80 million in loans and grants to India in '55 and again in '56.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Shouldn't the bodyguard stay more in the background?"

These funds have been spent in expanding India's transportation facilities, supplying technical assistance and developing U. S.-approved community projects. To balance this, Standard Oil and Caltex have received extraordinary concessions in India.

WHO GETS WHAT: In most other cases, however, non-military aid has been parceled out when military aid had to "be buttressed with economic assistance . . . to enable the recipient to carry their defense program" (**NYT**, 7/1/55).

Formosa, S. Korea, S. Vietnam, Pakistan and Thailand have been the major recipients of U. S. aid in Asia. In fiscal 1955, Formosa got $135 million in military aid, $3 million in economic aid; S. Korea, $450 million military, $20 million economic; S. Vietnam, $473 million, including a small amount for technical co-operation; Pakistan, $67 million military, $5 million economic; Thailand, $45 million military, $4½ million economic.

For fiscal 1956, these are the scheduled appropriations: Formosa, $99 million military, $5 million economic; S. Korea, $450 million military, $8 million economic; S. Vietnam, $417 million military, $8 million economic; Pakistan, $171 million military, $9 million economic; Thailand, $40 million military, $5 million economic.

THE REST IS SECRET: The published figures, however, do not tell the whole story. As the **Times** pointed out (5/9/55), actual military aid to the regions of Asia "deemed strategically, economically and politically vital to the U. S. remain secret." U. S. Defense Dept. funds evidently are used in addition: The U. S. Intl. Co-operation Administration bulletin (12/7/55) said that in 1955 the $45 million to Thailand did not include "the cost of furnishing military end-items which are handled through the Dept. of Defense."

Funds listed as "economic aid" are rarely spent on sending capital goods and equipment needed by underdeveloped countries to modernize their economy. They are usually spent on "technical co-operation"—training of technicians and supplying experts for the aided countries. Some recipients are complaining that Washington "is now mainly providing experts, rather than equipment or raw materials" (**NYT**, 3/20/55).

THE PUMP IN IRAN: The internal condition of Washington's Asian allies gives a vivid picture of the results of U. S. aid. Forced to maintain disproportionately large armed forces, unable or unwilling to undertake economic modernization, all of them suffer from political tyranny, economic distress and popular discontent.

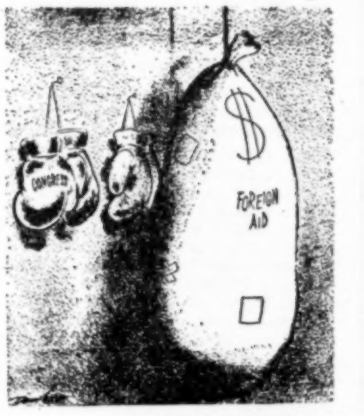
In Iran, for example, the U. S. has been pumping $5¼ million a month since the overthrow of Premier Mossadegh in 1953. In 1955, Washington sent Iran $86 million, while Iran spent 65% of its budget on the army and security forces "because of the danger of popular unrest" (**Reuters**, 12/22/55). **Reuters** also reported that U. S. aid has enabled

> ". . . the two governments since Mossadegh to conclude an oil pact highly profitable to a Western cartel, to quash the illegal Tudeh (Communist) organization and, finally, to bring Iran into the Middle East defense pact. [It] has also shielded and perpetuated inefficiency, corruption and dishonesty."

RHEE ON THE BRINK: S. Korea, the **Times** (1/4) said, has been suffering from

> ". . . continued inflation, fanned by mounting budget deficits, multiple exchange rates, commodity speculation, price and wage dislocation, a shortage of consumer goods and the lack of investment credit."

Yet President Rhee (maintaining the world's fourth largest army), with a revenue of 33 billion hwan, in his latest budget allocated 77 billion hwan for military expenditure. S. Korea today "is on the brink of complete bankruptcy," with Rhee urgently pleading with "the U. S. to bail him out" (**Newsweek**, 12/26/55).



St. Louis Globe-Democrat

PUNCHING BAG

The contrast with N. Korea is illuminating. In 1953, Swedish and Swiss armistice supervisors described N. Korea as a "graveyard with only chimneys left standing." According to **Reuters** (12/5/55) a delegation of eight Japanese parliament members reported: "Today not a trace of war can be seen in Pyongyang."

VIEW TO THE NORTH: "Deeply impressed" by what they had seen, the Japanese visitors reported: Soviet technicians and supervisors were helping rebuild the country; Pyongyang was a "completely" rebuilt city, with wide, modern avenues, large parks and new houses "everywhere"; 90% of N. Korea's factory workers have moved into "new flats where they have to pay only nominal rent"; food was rationed but everyone appeared to have enough to eat; schooling was free; there were many udergound stores and installations throughout the capital, and the delegation was once entertained in an underground theater seating 1,500; there was no sign of any Chinese soldiers in Pyongyang.

Delegation leader Sadao Furuya felt that N. Korea would stand on its own feet in two years. He described N. Korean Premier Kim Il Sung as a "quiet, soft-spoken gentleman" who is confident that Korea would be reunited "within two years—and without the use of violence."

NEXT WEEK: The socialist attitude on aid.

Color line in the United States, 1956

(Treatment of Negroes with regard to certain activities and rights)

SECTIONS AND NEGRO POPULATION	*NORTH AND MIDDLE WEST: 4,450,000*	*SOUTHERN CITIES: 5,250,000*	*SOUTHERN SMALL TOWNS AND RURAL DISTRCTS: 5,500,000*
HOME-BUYING	**Difficulties Save in Semi-Slum Districts**	**Only in Negro Sections**	**Difficult Anywhere**
PUBLIC SCHOOLS	**General Equality, with Some Discrimination**	**Mostly Segregation, with Unequal Funds**	**Segregation, with Unequal Funds or None at All**
PUBLIC LIBRARIES MUSEUMS	**No Discrimination**	**Mostly Segregated**	**Few Libraries; No Negroes Admitted**
WORK	**Limited Opportunity, But Increasing**	**Mostly Domestic Service and Common Labor, But Some Expansion**	**Domestic Service, Farm Labor and Peonage**
ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME	**10% $5,000 and Up; 22% Under $1,000; Median $2,800**	**7% $5,000 and Up; 30% Under $1,000; Median $2,400**	**1% $5,000 and Up; 77% Under $1,000; Median $700**
SERVICE IN STORES	**Welcome in Most**	**Served in Most; Unwelcome in Some**	**General Discrimination; Less in Chain Stores**
VOTING	**All May Vote**	**50% Vote. Percentage Rising**	**75% Disfranchised**
OFFICE-HOLDING	**Some Major Officials; Many Minor**	**Few Officials**	**No Negro Officials**
COURTS AND POLICE	**Some Discrimination**	**Widespread Discrimination and Prejudice. Few Black Jurors. Black Policemen for Blacks**	**No Jurors, Tyranny and Mob Rule**
CHURCHES	**90% Segregated**	**100% Segregated**	**100% Segregated**
HOSPITALS	**Much Discrimination**	**Segregation or Exclusion**	**Excluded**
TRAVEL	**Not Much Discrimination**	**Discrimination on Railroads, Street Cars, Buses, Depots, Restaurants**	**Segregation and Exclusion**
HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS	**Admitted to Some, Unwelcome in Many**	**Not Admitted**	**Not Admitted**
BEAUTY AND BARBER SHOPS	**Usually White Workers on White, Colored Workers on Colored**	**White and Colored Workers on Whites; Colored on Colored**	**Colored Workers in Separate Shops**
VACATION RESORTS, BEACHES, MOTELS	**Negroes Unwelcome or Excluded**	**Complete Segregation**	**Complete Exclusion**
SOCIAL INTERMINGLING, INTERMARRAGE	**Legal But Unpopular; FBI May Investigate**	**Intermarriage Illegal; Police May Stop Mingling**	**Illegal; Mob Violence to Be Expected**

HOW DO NEGRO AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT IT?

The amazing story of 'Porgy and Bess' abroad

By Eugene Gordon

PORGY AND BESS opened at Leningrad's Palace of Culture Dec. 26 before a capacity audience of 3,600 which, the Associated Negro Press reported,

> ". . . gave it a standing ovation of 10 minutes, but nothing like the wild enthusiasm that greeted the folk opera in Western Europe and Latin America."

ANP said it believed this first appearance of a U. S. theatrical troupe in the U. S. S. R.—and so soon after the long siege of the cold war—was applauded "as much for the idea of such cultural exchange as for performance." The N. Y. **Amsterdam News** hoped so because, it said, although

> ". . . **Porgy and Bess** represents topflight entertainment by some of our most capable professional artists . . . the story it tells is not exactly the side of American life that is the most representative."

WHAT WON APPLAUSE: U.S. Ambassador Bohlen thought it sufficiently representative to praise the producers and the cast for bringing this "singularly well-chosen" tale of Catfish Row to the U. S. S. R. The N. Y. **Times** reported, however, that the audience had been "too unfamiliar with the unorthodox form of the opera, the . . . setting of Catfish Row and the novel idiom" to grasp the story fully. This seemed to support **ANP**'s view that what was being applauded so vigorously was the idea of cultural exchange. The **UP** report also indicated that the story was not quite so "singularly well chosen," because

> ". . . the audience of medium-level Soviet officials, trade unionists and representatives of the theatrical world . . . [had] seemed especially shocked by the scene where a murderer seduces a half-naked woman on the stage."

Moscow premiere

ON JAN. 10 **Porgy** opened in Moscow and received "a warm, emotional reception," according to the N. Y. **Times'** Welles Hangen. The performance, he said,

> ". . . brought first-nighters to their feet for more than eight minutes after the final curtain. . . . Some spectators wept; others shouted and stamped their feet. . . . [Porgy] was intellectually incomprehensible to many Russians present tonight. But emotionally it evoked spontaneous enthusiasm and appreciation from an audience desperately eager to welcome foreign theater. More than 20,000 persons have sought tickets for the engagement which is scheduled to end Jan. 17."

The title of **Life's** story of the tour —"Russians Lionize Porgy Cast"— made it clear how the hosts felt about the players. The story said the opera was "less joyfully received" than in other places; it noted that "U. S. and Russian flags hung side by side in the theater" as an expression of cultural reciprocity.

WHEREVER THEY GO THEY ARE WELCOMED WITH LOVE
Part of the troupe with Rome's Mayor Salvatore Rebecchini

A SENSE OF SHAME: Opposition to **Porgy and Bess** as representative of U. S. life was first voiced before the State Dept. sent it to West Germany's cultural festival in 1952. Practically all proponents of the project were white; practically all Negroes who expressed opinions opposed it. When the opera returned in the spring of 1953, **Times** drama critic Brooks Atkinson said the opponents

> ". . . ought to feel ashamed of themselves, [since] Europe and England have expressed an admiration for **Porgy and Bess** somewhat beyond the enthusiasm they have for American foreign policy. . . ."

Nick Aaron Ford, head of the English dept. at Maryland's Morgan College (Negro) thought it was Atkinson who ought to feel ashamed for assigning to the opera the role of a good-will ambassador. In an article in the Baltimore **Afro-American,** he asked whether the critic believed "the reaction of Asians and Africans should be of no concern to the makers of American foreign policy." (**Porgy and Bess** has not yet appeared in Asia or Africa.) To another white critic's characterization of the opera as "one of the glories of popular American culture," Ford declared that it not only did not represent American life in general but "no sizeable fragment of Negro life, south or north."

KERR vs. HICKS: N. Y. **Herald Tribune** critic Walter Kerr drew the ire of **Afro** writer James Hicks. Kerr said that he had been "driven to the point of fatigue" by the "demoniac energy" in Robert Breen's direction of the opera; loved the way "the whole population of Catfish Row hurls itself into each successive moment"; the way a "garishly realistic" murder scene "cracks open . . . with the authority of a thunderbolt"; the "blood-curdling" stage activity as "the music explodes on top of it"; Sporting Life, as he "strides, slinks and leaps . . . with fierce and fantastic glee." Hicks said it was not hard to understand

> ". . . why some white people stand up and yell 'Bravo!' and clap their hands . . . when they see Negro actors acting the fool and making fools of other members of their race . . . [in] the traditional role . . . set for Negroes since the first days of 'Uncle Tom' . . . the role of ignorant, happy-foot, crap-shooting clown, and **Porgy and Bess** has them all."

"POLITICALLY PREMATURE": Though the State Dept. gave no outward sign of heed to the opposition, some policy-makers did balk when the question arose of sending the troupe to Russia. **ANP** columnist Rob Roy indicated their viewpoint when he said "it would have been better to keep such a production with its degrading 'Catfish Row'" out of Europe, particularly out of the Soviet Union. Western European audiences, he said, would believe U. S. Negroes content to dwell in Catfish Row; but Soviet audiences would believe that Negroes, while disliking it, were forbidden to live elsewhere.

In sending the opera "behind the iron curtain," therefore, the State Dept. was arming "the enemy" with a devastating propaganda weapon. Under Secy. of State Hoover ruled that a Soviet trip would be "politically premature."

THE BILL IS FOOTED: "Cost and political considerations," said the **N. Y. Times,** finally outweighed the department's belief that this "folk opera [was] one of the most effective cultural representations the U. S. could send abroad." It quoted officials as saying the State Dept. would neither foot the bill nor "put any obstacles in the way" if the company wished to finance the trip. So **Porgy and Bess** paid its own way to the Soviet border; the U. S. S. R., said **Life,** "sponsored the Russian tour up to $150,000 for salaries and expenses." So, said **ANP,**

> ". . . thanks to the State Dept., Negro Americans are being presented all over the world in terms of Porgy and Bess, citizens of Catfish Row . . . denizens of this Charleston slum."

WITHOUT PITY: In his biography, **Du Bose Heywood, The Man Who Wrote Porgy,** (novel from which **Porgy and Bess** was adapted), Frank Durham wrote:

> "[Heywood] approached his subject without pity for an exploited race, without any desire to write propaganda; it was his aim to record a people and a way of life which he found strange and admirable and worthy of artistic representation."

That way of life which Heywood artistically represented in **Porgy** as "strange and admirable" comes through in **Porgy and Bess** to Negroes as strange and revolting. Why, then, has the troupe been so enthusiastically received?

My opinion is that the singer-players are honored because they are regarded as emmisaries of a people known to be exploited "without pity." Soviet audiences most likely share Soviet composer Aram Khachaturian's admiration of "that fine American composer, George Gershwin," whom he recently eulogized. They are familiar, through their own Soviet radio broadcasts, with the music of **Porgy and Bess.** They applauded the idea of the cultural exchange, the actor-singers who represented that exchange in person, the splendid artistry of the Negro players.

And perhaps the applause was extra loud because this artistry was exhibited by people who—according to a song in the opera—"got plenty o' nuttin'." The audiences knew that this artistry transcended the role these artists are known to be forced to play at home.

VICTORY IN DELAINE CASE

N.Y. Court refuses to send minister back to persecution in S. Carolina

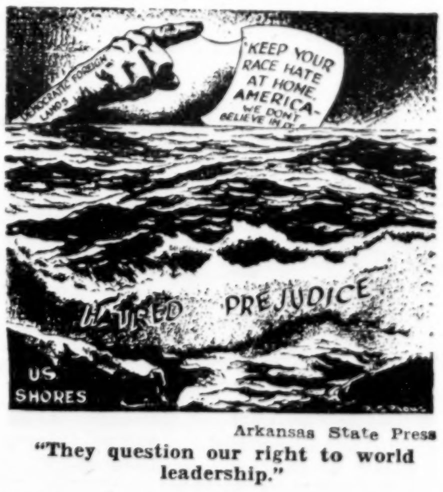
FELONY COURT JUDGE David L. Malbin on Jan. 16 dismissed a fugitive complaint against the Rev. J. A. Delaine, "fugitive from S. Carolina injustice" since Oct. 10, when he shot back at occupants of a car who had fired at his Lake City home. A "ringleader" among Clarendon County, S. C., Negro parents who originated the case which led to the U. S. Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, Delaine saw his church burned, his school teacher-wife dismissed, and numerous attempts made to murder both.

Fleeing to New York, he went to his bishop, D. Ward Nichols, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who assumed personal responsibility for him. S. Carolina meanwhile indicted him for "assault with intent to kill" Donald Graham and Hosey Gouse, white, who were in the car from which Delaine's home was attacked. N. Y. Gov. Harriman had signed an extradition warrant returning Willie Morgan to S. Carolina and was receiving appeals not to send Willie Reid back to Florida when the Delaine case broke. The Baltimore **Afro-American** said "high sources in the AME Church" would repudiate Harriman and the Democats if he extradited Delaine; that on the other hand, he would lose the Dixiecrat South's "support of his bid for Presidential office" if he refused to extradite.

THE REAL CRIMINALS: Up to 10 a.m., Jan. 16 no formal request for extradition had reached Gov. Harriman from S. Carolina's Gov. Timmerman. Reports current in Judge Malbin's courtroom said the governors had agreed on an "arrangement" to remove Harriman from the political hot-seat created by the extradition issue. Delaine's attorney Richard E. Carey said in the packed chamber that the "real criminals" were "the parties in S. Carolina who attacked this man of God in his home in the dead of night to murder him, and for no other reason than that he took a leading part in defending the U. S. Constitution." He demanded that his client be freed "forthwith," in view of S. Carolina's neglect to apply for extradition within 30 days, as required by N. Y. law.

Judge Malbin asked defendant and attorney to return to their seats while he consulted the law. In 15 minutes he recalled them and declared the complaint dismissed. Bishop Nichols told the press:

> "This humble AME minister, whose only crime was to defend his home against organized terror, has, in a sense, become a symbol of our times. Throughout the entire South, particularly in Mississippi and S. Carolina, groups of so-called citizens' councils are seeking by terror and intimidation to deprive not only Negroes but whites, as well, of the fundamental rights of our democracy. Indeed, they are conspiring to teach and advocate overthrowing the very pillars of our social structure. One bright spot in this otherwise dark picture of clear and present danger is the increasing tempo of the role of our churches as led by determined and dedicated men such as Rev. Delaine."


DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN LANDS
KEEP YOUR RACE HATE AT HOME AMERICA— WE DONT BELIEVE IN IT
HATRED
PREJUDICE
US SHORES

Arkansas State Press
"They question our right to world leadership."

Ike's message

(Continued from Page 1)

Johnson, mastermind of the bipartisanship that had brought the country as close as it's ever been to one-party rule, bemoaned the President's lack of recognition of his party's efforts and expressed "deep disappointment" over the message's "political overtones."

- Democratic Presidential hopeful Adlai Stevenson called it "less a State of the Union message than a State of the Republican Party message." He added that "the Republicans always seem to appropriate the Democratic position in election years."

500,000 REPRINTS: Most Republicans were jubilant. The GOP itself frankly accepted the message as a political document; the morning after its delivery it ordered 500,000 reprints for distribution to voters as a party platform.

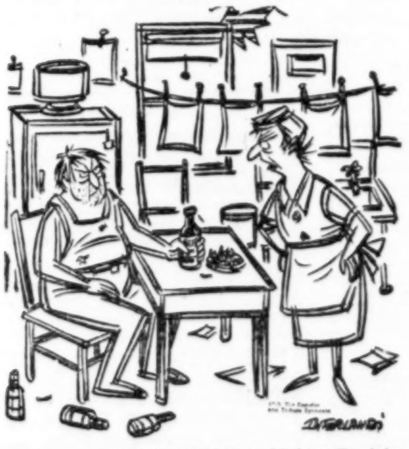
Rep. Dewey Short (R-Mo.) called the message "superb, superlative and sublime." Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R-Ill.), assistant House Republican leader, called the program one of "dynamic conservatism." Said Rep. Katharine St. George (R-N.Y.):

> "The message as a whole aims once more to prove conclusively that our country was indeed blessed by heaven the day that Dwight D. Eisenhower was inaugurated as its President."

The Democrats were clearly thrown off balance; the N.Y. **Times** said of the message that "in its whole sense it differed more in degree than in principle from the program that the middle-road Democratic leaders themselves have in mind." They couldn't very well oppose measures taken from their own platform; about the best they could do would be to try to up the ante. But on top of that, the Eisenhower program was shrewdly designed to exploit the disunity within the Democratic Party.

NEGRO VOTER: The President surprised many by including this paragraph in his message:

> "It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures. I recommend that the substance of these charges be thoroughly examined by a bipartisan commission created by the Congress. It is hoped that such a commission will be established promptly so that it may arrive at findings which can receive early consideration."



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Don't tell me you can't find a job anywhere—you're just trying to make the Republicans look bad . . . !"

The NAACP welcomed the suggestion even though it does "not take care of certain problems demanding immediate attention," but Congressional Democrats, both Northern and Southern, criticized it. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) called it "sheer buckpassing." Others contended it meant only avoidance of action now.

Dixiecrats were furious at the suggestion for opposite reasons. Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.) said it was "very peculiar for the President to suggest that Congress set up a commission to investigate some acts which he apparently believes are against the law." Southerners privately vowed that any bill to set up such a commission would be filibustered to death. The prospect was that even such a mild proposal as the President's would be killed by Democrats.

SCHOOL BUILDING: Similarly with the President's program for Federal aid to school construction to overcome the emergency shortage of classrooms. It went considerably beyond his proposals of last year, which were not acted upon, but still didn't measure up, in total grants-in-aid, to a Democratic bill now in Congress. But the President was totally silent on the explosive issue of denying Federal aid to any state defying the Supreme Court's desegregation orders; he conveniently left that battle to be fought out by a divided Democratic Party.

THE FARM MESSAGE: His farm program, submitted to Congress on Jan. 9, contained as its key feature a New Deal concept at least 20 years old. Basically, it pretends to solve all farm problems by removing up to 40,000,000 acres from production, thereby reducing government-owned surpluses and curing all ills.

No let-up

ACCORDING to President Eisenhower, the State of the Nation has never been better, but there is to be no let-up against the red menace at home. He said:

> "Of great importance to our nation's security is a continuing alertness to internal subversive activity within or without our government. This administration will not relax its efforts to deal forthrightly and vigorously in protection of this government and its citizens against subversion, at the same time protecting the constitutional rights of all citizens."

The long-range part of the program, which would return some 25,000,000 marginal acres to grass and trees and water storage, is based on sound conservation practice but would scarcely by itself overcome the farm crisis.

The short-term part, under which farmers would be paid to take 15,000,000 acres out of production, is not spelled out and fails to specify how much farmers will get and how they will be paid if they comply. In any case, it would do nothing to stem the plunge of farm income which is now down 28% since 1951 and would not put even an extra five-cent piece in farmers' pockets.

Other features of the farm program would add a small trickle of milk to the school lunch program, would refund to farmers the Federal tax on gasoline used in farm production, and would put a ceiling on support loans that could be paid to oversized factory farm units. The Ezra Taft Benson farm philosophy of returning agriculture to the free play of supply and demand is unchanged. The farm battle will be one of the hottest in Congress this session—both parties desperately need the farm vote.

NOTHING FOR LABOR: To labor the President offered nothing. **Labor's Daily** editorialized on the State of the Union message:

> "As expected, it was conservative to middle of the road and not calculated to disturb the equanimity of any sizeable segment of the people of the country. Labor expected little, and it was promised just that—or less. . . . But then labor didn't serve up this mess of hash, and there are strong chances it will refuse to stick around for a second helping, come November, 1956."

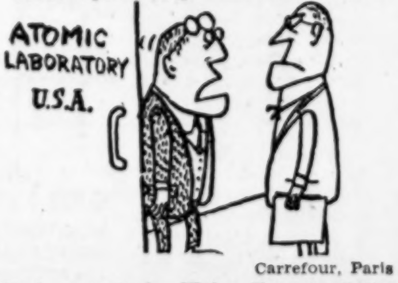
The President promised a balanced budget, but ruled out any tax cut for lower incomes this year; any budget surplus, he said, should be applied to reducing the national debt.

LOFTY OPTIMISM: All told, Eisenhower offered 67 proposals in his message, but all were general or altogether fuzzy except on housing, where he specified his limited plan for only 35,000 units a year for the next two years. He also called for revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law, specifying a proposal that quotas be based on the 1950 census and not on that of 1920, that unused quotas be pooled among other nations, and that fingerprinting requirements be eased. But most of ihs message was couched in terms like this:

> "Similarly the problems of our aged people need our attention."

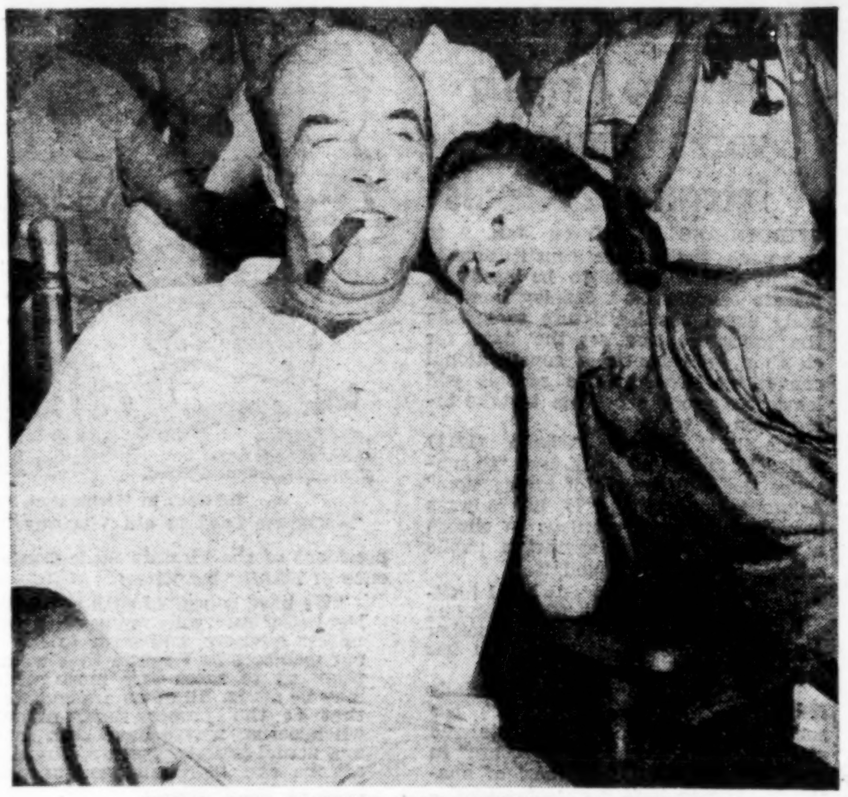
On the whole, the message proclaimed a rosy state of affairs and the President's own state of mind was revealed as one of lofty optimism. It sounded good even if it wasn't true, and it put the Democrats on a spot because they had very little ao counter it with. Some of them knew they were in trouble; Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), wrote in the Jan. 16 **New Republic:**

> "Some Republican strategists hope to blame the Democrats if the coalition of conservative Republicans and Democrats prevents action, and to take the credit for any measures passed by Democratic votes. It is a shrewd piece of political tactics. . . ."



Carrefour, Paris

"Bad news again. We've discovered the anti-proton!"



AFTER THE VERDICT WAS RETURNED IN SUMNER
J. W. Milam with his wife in the Mississippi courtroom

The Till lynching

(Continued from Page 1)

He staggered under the weight . . . carried it to the river bank. They stood silently . . . just hating one another.

Milam: "Take off your clothes."

Slowly, Bobo sat down, pulled off his shoes, his socks. He stood up, unbuttoned his shirt, dropped his pants, his shorts.

He stood there, naked.

It was Sunday morning, a little before 7.

Milam: "You still as good as I am?"

Bobo: "Yeah."

Milam: "You've still 'had' white women?"

Bobo: "Yeah."

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> ". . . Milam and Bryant, knowing that they cannot again be tried for the crime, have given signed statements to the magazine in which they tell just how the crime was committed."

HOW DO NEGRO AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT IT?

The amazing story of 'Porgy and Bess' abroad

By Eugene Gordon

PORGY AND BESS opened at Leningrad's Palace of Culture Dec. 26 before a capacity audience of 3,600 which, the Associated Negro Press reported,

> ". . . gave it a standing ovation of 10 minutes, but nothing like the wild enthusiasm that greeted the folk opera in Western Europe and Latin America."

ANP said it believed this first appearance of a U. S. theatrical troupe in the U. S. S. R.—and so soon after the long siege of the cold war—was applauded "as much for the idea of such cultural exchange as for performance." The **N. Y. Amsterdam News** hoped so because, it said, although

> ". . . **Porgy and Bess** represents top-flight entertainment by some of our most capable professional artists . . . the story it tells is not exactly the side of American life that is the most representative."

WHAT WON APPLAUSE: U. S. Ambassador Bohlen thought it sufficiently representative to praise the producers and the cast for bringing this "singularly well-chosen" tale of Catfish Row to the U. S. S. R. The **N. Y. Times** reported, however, that the audience had been "too unfamiliar with the unorthodox form of the opera, the . . . setting of Catfish Row and the novel idiom" to grasp the story fully. This seemed to support **ANP's** view that what was being applauded so vigorously was the idea of cultural exchange. The **UP** report also indicated that the story was not quite so "singularly well chosen," because

> ". . . the audience of medium-level Soviet officials, trade unionists and representatives of the theatrical world . . . [had] seemed especially shocked by the scene where a murderer seduces a half-naked woman on the stage."

Moscow premiere

ON JAN. 10 **Porgy** opened in Moscow and received "a warm, emotional reception," according to the **N. Y. Times'** Welles Hangen. The performance, he said,

> ". . . brought first-nighters to their feet for more than eight minutes after the final curtain. . . . Some spectators wept; others shouted and stamped their feet. . . . [Porgy] was intellectually incomprehensible to many Russians present tonight. But emotionally it evoked spontaneous enthusiasm and appreciation from an audience desperately eager to welcome foreign theater. More than 20,000 persons have sought tickets for the engagement which is scheduled to end Jan. 17."

The title of **Life's** story of the tour—"Russians Lionize Porgy Cast"—made it clear how the hosts felt about the players. The story said the opera was "less joyfully received" than in other places; it noted that "U. S. and Russian flags hung side by side in the theater" as an expression of cultural reciprocity.

WHEREVER THEY GO THEY ARE WELCOMED WITH LOVE
Part of the troupe with Rome's Mayor Salvatore Rebecchini

A SENSE OF SHAME: Opposition to **Porgy and Bess** as representative of U. S. life was first voiced before the State Dept. sent it to West Germany's cultural festival in 1952. Practically all proponents of the project were white; practically all Negroes who expressed opinions opposed it. When the opera returned in the spring of 1953, **Times** drama critic Brooks Atkinson said the opponents

> ". . . ought to feel ashamed of themselves, [since] Europe and England have expressed an admiration for **Porgy and Bess** somewhat beyond the enthusiasm they have for American foreign policy. . . ."

Nick Aaron Ford, head of the English dept. at Maryland's Morgan College (Negro) thought it was Atkinson who ought to feel ashamed for assigning to the opera the role of a good-will ambassador. In an article in the Baltimore **Afro-American,** he asked whether the critic believed "the reaction of Asians and Africans should be of no concern to the makers of American foreign policy." (**Porgy and Bess** has not yet appeared in Asia or Africa.) To another white critic's characterization of the opera as "one of the glories of popular American culture," Ford declared that it not only did not represent American life in general but "no sizeable fragment of Negro life, south or north."

KERR vs. HICKS: N. Y. **Herald Tribune** critic Walter Kerr drew the ire of **Afro** writer James Hicks. Kerr said that he had been "driven to the point of fatigue" by the "demoniac energy" in Robert Breen's direction of the opera; loved the way "the whole population of Catfish Row hurls itself into each successive moment"; the way a "garishly realistic" murder scene "cracks open . . . with the authority of a thunderbolt"; the "blood-curdling" stage activity as "the music explodes on top of it"; Sporting Life, as he "strides, slinks and leaps . . . with fierce and fantastic glee." Hicks said it was not hard to understand

> ". . . why some white people stand up and yell 'Bravo!' and clap their hands . . . when they see Negro actors acting the fool and making fools of other members of their race . . . [in] the traditional role . . . set for Negroes since the first days of 'Uncle Tom' . . . the role of ignorant, happy-foot, crap-shooting clown, and **Porgy and Bess** has them all."

"POLITICALLY PREMATURE": Though the State Dept. gave no outward sign of heed to the opposition, some policy-makers did balk when the question arose of sending the troupe to Russia. **ANP** columnist Rob Roy indicated their viewpoint when he said "it would have been better to keep such a production with its degrading 'Catfish Row'" out of Europe, particularly out of the Soviet Union. Western European audiences, he said, would believe U. S. Negroes content to dwell in Catfish Row; but Soviet audiences would believe that Negroes, while disliking it, were forbidden to live elsewhere.

In sending the opera "behind the iron curtain," therefore, the State Dept. was arming "the enemy" with a devastating propaganda weapon. Under Secy. of State Hoover ruled that a Soviet trip would be "politically premature."

THE BILL IS FOOTED: "Cost and political considerations," said the **N. Y. Times,** finally outweighed the department's belief that this "folk opera [was] one of the most effective cultural representations the U. S. could send abroad." It quoted officials as saying the State Dept. would neither foot the bill nor "put any obstacles in the way" if the company wished to finance the trip. So **Porgy and Bess** paid its own way to the Soviet border; the U. S. S. R., said **Life,** "sponsored the Russian tour up to $150,000 for salaries and expenses." So, said **ANP,**

> ". . . thanks to the State Dept., Negro Americans are being presented all over the world in terms of Porgy and Bess, citizens of Catfish Row . . . denizens of this Charleston slum."

WITHOUT PITY: In his biography, **Du Bose Heywood, The Man Who Wrote Porgy,** (novel from which **Porgy and Bess** was adapted), Frank Durham wrote:

> "[Heywood] approached his subject without pity for an exploited race, without any desire to write propaganda; it was his aim to record a people and a way of life which he found strange and admirable and worthy of artistic representation."

That way of life which Heywood artistically represented in **Porgy** as "strange and admirable" comes through in **Porgy and Bess** to Negroes as strange and revolting. Why, then, has the troupe been so enthusiastically received?

My opinion is that the singer-players are honored because they are regarded as emmisaries of a people known to be exploited "without pity." Soviet audiences most likely share Soviet composer Aram Khachaturian's admiration of "that fine American composer, George Gershwin," whom he recently eulogized. They are familiar, through their own Soviet radio broadcasts, with the music of **Porgy and Bess.** They applauded the idea of the cultural exchange, the actor-singers who represented that exchange in person, the splendid artistry of the Negro players.

And perhaps the applause was extra loud because this artistry was exhibited by people who—according to a song in the opera—"got plenty o' nuttin'." The audiences knew that this artistry transcended the role these artists are known to be forced to play at home.

VICTORY IN DELAINE CASE

N.Y. Court refuses to send minister back to persecution in S. Carolina

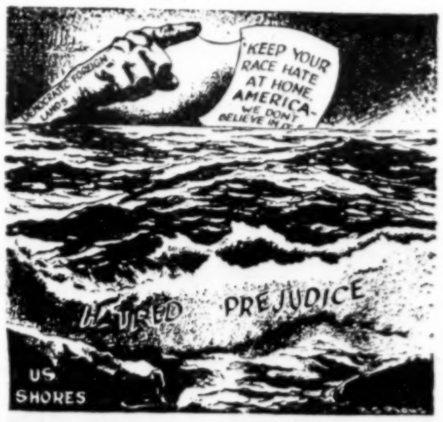
FELONY COURT JUDGE David L. Malbin on Jan. 16 dismissed a fugitive complaint against the Rev. J. A. Delaine, "fugitive from S. Carolina injustice" since Oct. 10, when he shot back at occupants of a car who had fired at his Lake City home. A "ringleader" among Clarendon County, S. C., Negro parents who originated the case which led to the U. S. Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, Delaine saw his church burned, his school teacher-wife dismissed, and numerous attempts made to murder both.

Fleeing to New York, he went to his bishop, D. Ward Nichols, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who assumed personal responsibility for him. S. Carolina meanwhile indicted him for "assault with intent to kill" Donald Graham and Hosey Gouse, white, who were in the car from which Delaine's home was attacked. N. Y. Gov. Harriman had signed an extradition warrant returning Willie Morgan to S. Carolina and was receiving appeals not to send Willie Reid back to Florida when the Delaine case broke. The Baltimore **Afro-American** said "high sources in the AME Church" would repudiate Harriman and the Democats if he extradited Delaine; that on the other hand, he would lose the Dixiecrat South's "support of his bid for Presidential office" if he refused to extradite.

THE REAL CRIMINALS: Up to 10 a.m., Jan. 16 no formal request for extradition had reached Gov. Harriman from S. Carolina's Gov. Timmerman. Reports current in Judge Malbin's courtroom said the governors had agreed on an "arrangement" to remove Harriman from the political hot-seat created by the extradition issue. Delaine's attorney Richard E. Carey said in the packed chamber that the "real criminals" were "the parties in S. Carolina who attacked this man of God in his home in the dead of night to murder him, and for no other reason than that he took a leading part in defending the U. S. Constitution." He demanded that his client be freed "forthwith," in view of S. Carolina's neglect to apply for extradition within 30 days, as required by N. Y. law.

Judge Malbin asked defendant and attorney to return to their seats while he consulted the law. In 15 minutes he recalled them and declared the complaint dismissed. Bishop Nichols told the press:

> "This humble AME minister, whose only crime was to defend his home against organized terror, has, in a sense, become a symbol of our times. Throughout the entire South, particularly in Mississippi and S. Carolina, groups of so-called citizens' councils are seeking by terror and intimidation to deprive not only Negroes but whites, as well, of the fundamental rights of our democracy. Indeed, they are conspiring to teach and advocate overthrowing the very pillars of our social structure. One bright spot in this otherwise dark picture of clear and present danger is the increasing tempo of the role of our churches as led by determined and dedicated men such as Rev. Delaine."


DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN LANDS
"KEEP YOUR RACE HATE AT HOME AMERICA- WE DONT BELIEVE IN IT
HATRED
PREJUDICE
US SHORES

Arkansas State Press

"They question our right to world leadership."

Ike's message

(Continued from Page 1)

Johnson, mastermind of the bipartisanship that had brought the country as close as it's ever been to one-party rule, bemoaned the President's lack of recognition of his party's efforts and expressed "deep disappointment" over the message's "political overtones."

- Democratic Presidential hopeful Adlai Stevenson called it "less a State of the Union message than a State of the Republican Party message." He added that "the Republicans always seem to appropriate the Democratic position in election years."

500,000 REPRINTS: Most Republicans were jubilant. The GOP itself frankly accepted the message as a political document; the morning after its delivery it ordered 500,000 reprints for distribution to voters as a party platform.

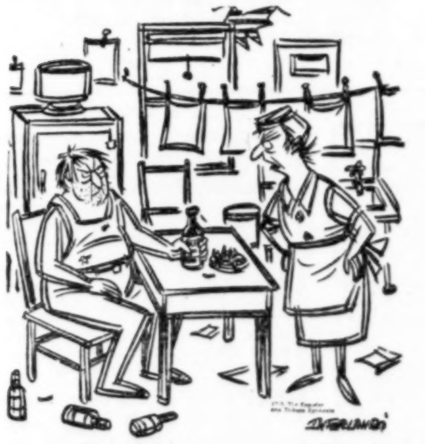
Rep. Dewey Short (R-Mo.) called the message "superb, superlative and sublime." Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R-Ill.), assistant House Republican leader, called the program one of "dynamic conservatism." Said Rep. Katharine St. George (R-N.Y.):

> "The message as a whole aims once more to prove conclusively that our country was indeed blessed by heaven the day that Dwight D. Eisenhower was inaugurated as its President."

The Democrats were clearly thrown off balance; the N.Y. **Times** said of the message that "in its whole sense it differed more in degree than in principle from the program that the middle-road Democratic leaders themselves have in mind." They couldn't very well oppose measures taken from their own platform; about the best they could do would be to try to up the ante. But on top of that, the Eisenhower program was shrewdly designed to exploit the disunity within the Democratic Party.

NEGRO VOTER: The President surprised many by including this paragraph in his message:

> "It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures. I recommend that the substance of these charges be thoroughly examined by a bipartisan commission created by the Congress. It is hoped that such a commission will be established promptly so that it may arrive at findings which can receive early consideration."



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Don't tell me you can't find a job anywhere—you're just trying to make the Republicans look bad . . . !"

The NAACP welcomed the suggestion even though it does "not take care of certain problems demanding immediate attention," but Congressional Democrats, both Northern and Southern, criticized it. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) called it "sheer buckpassing." Others contended it meant only avoidance of action now.

Dixiecrats were furious at the suggestion for opposite reasons. Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.) said it was "very peculiar for the President to suggest that Congress set up a commission to investigate some acts which he apparently believes are against the law." Southerners privately vowed that any bill to set up such a commission would be filibustered to death. The prospect was that even such a mild proposal as the President's would be killed by Democrats.

SCHOOL BUILDING: Similarly with the President's program for Federal aid to school construction to overcome the emergency shortage of classrooms. It went considerably beyond his proposals of last year, which were not acted upon, but still didn't measure up, in total grants-in-aid, to a Democratic bill now in Congress. But the President was totally silent on the explosive issue of denying Federal aid to any state defying the Supreme Court's desegregation orders; he conveniently left that battle to be fought out by a divided Democratic Party.

THE FARM MESSAGE: His farm program, submitted to Congress on Jan. 9, contained as its key feature a New Deal concept at least 20 years old. Basically, it pretends to solve all farm problems by removing up to 40,000,000 acres from production, thereby reducing government-owned surpluses and curing all ills.

No let-up

ACCORDING to President Eisenhower, the State of the Nation has never been better, but there is to be no let-up against the red menace at home. He said:

> "Of great importance to our nation's security is a continuing alertness to internal subversive activity within or without our government. This administration will not relax its efforts to deal forthrightly and vigorously in protection of this government and its citizens against subversion, at the same time protecting the constitutional rights of all citizens."

The long-range part of the program, which would return some 25,000,000 marginal acres to grass and trees and water storage, is based on sound conservation practice but would scarcely by itself overcome the farm crisis.

The short-term part, under which farmers would be paid to take 15,000,000 acres out of production, is not spelled out and fails to specify how much farmers will get and how they will be paid if they comply. In any case, it would do nothing to stem the plunge of farm income which is now down 28% since 1951 and would not put even an extra five-cent piece in farmers' pockets.

Other features of the farm program would add a small trickle of milk to the school lunch program, would refund to farmers the Federal tax on gasoline used in farm production, and would put a ceiling on support loans that could be paid to oversized factory farm units. The Ezra Taft Benson farm philosophy of returning agriculture to the free play of supply and demand is unchanged. The farm battle will be one of the hottest in Congress this session—both parties desperately need the farm vote.

NOTHING FOR LABOR: To labor the President offered nothing. **Labor's Daily** editorialized on the State of the Union message:

> "As expected, it was conservative to middle of the road and not calculated to disturb the equanimity of any sizeable segment of the people of the country. Labor expected little, and it was promised just that—or less. . . . But then labor didn't serve up this mess of hash, and there are strong chances it will refuse to stick around for a second helping, come November, 1956."

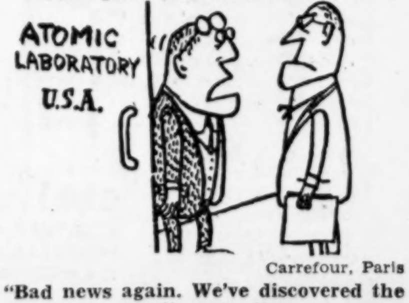
The President promised a balanced budget, but ruled out any tax cut for lower incomes this year; any budget surplus, he said, should be applied to reducing the national debt.

LOFTY OPTIMISM: All told, Eisenhower offered 67 proposals in his message, but all were general or altogether fuzzy except on housing, where he specified his limited plan for only 35,000 units a year for the next two years. He also called for revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law, specifying a proposal that quotas be based on the 1950 census and not on that of 1920, that unused quotas be pooled among other nations, and that fingerprinting requirements be eased. But most of ihs message was couched in terms like this:

> "Similarly the problems of our aged people need our attention."

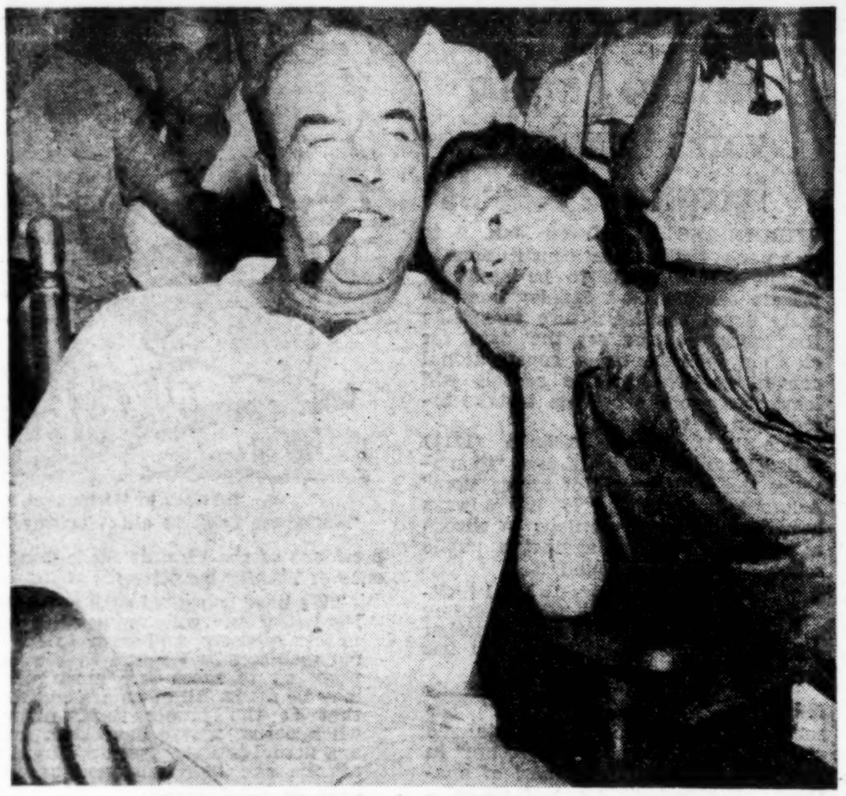
On the whole, the message proclaimed a rosy state of affairs and the President's own state of mind was revealed as one of lofty optimism. It sounded good even if it wasn't true, and it put the Democrats on a spot because they had very little ao counter it with. Some of them knew they were in trouble; Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), wrote in the Jan. 16 **New Republic:**

> "Some Republican strategists hope to blame the Democrats if the coalition of conservative Republicans and Democrats prevents action, and to take the credit for any measures passed by Democratic votes. It is a shrewd piece of political tactics. . . ."


ATOMIC LABORATORY U.S.A.

Carrefour, Paris

"Bad news again. We've discovered the anti-proton!"



AFTER THE VERDICT WAS RETURNED IN SUMNER

J. W. Milam with his wife in the Mississippi courtroom

The Till lynching

(Continued from Page 1)

He staggered under the weight . . . carried it to the river bank. They stood silently . . . just hating one another.

Milam: "Take off your clothes."

Slowly, Bobo sat down, pulled off his shoes, his socks. He stood up, unbuttoned his shirt, dropped his pants, his shorts.

He stood there, naked.

It was Sunday morning, a little before 7.

Milam: "You still as good as I am?"

Bobo: "Yeah."

Milam: "You've still 'had' white women?"

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> ". . . Milam and Bryant, knowing that they cannot again be tried for the crime, have given signed statements to the magazine in which they tell just how the crime was committed."

BUT JIMCROW WINS

Third of Virginia votes to uphold integrated schools

VIRGINIANS VOTED on Jan. 9 to amend their state constitution to permit public funds to be used for private schools. Gov. Stanley immediately urged the legislature to outline the procedure and set the date for electing delegates to a constitutional convention. The private schools will leave it up to the parents to take integration or to leave it.

The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/11) called Virginia's action a plan "to subsidize the continuance of segregation." Acknowledging that "it has always been any person's privilege to choose a private school as against a public school," the paper found it

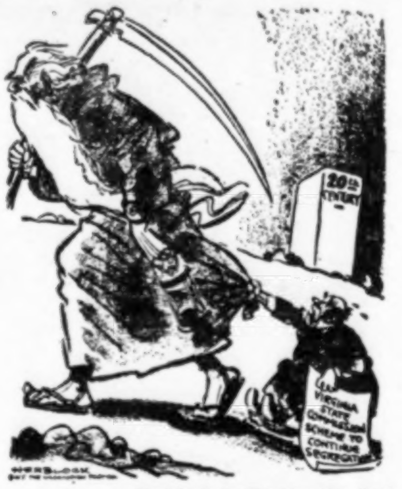
> ". . . hard to see how any legal justification can be found for expanding tax money to continue under another name the discrimination which has been declared illegal. . . ."

The N. Y. **Times** (1/11) editorially found it "difficult to believe" the scheme will stand up in the courts, and saw "a ray of hope for the future" in the "astonishingly large total of one-third—close to 150,000 out of 450,000—who said by their ballots that they believe in the principles of Thomas Jefferson and the U. S. Constitution."

TEST PROMISED: NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins wrote Dr. E. B. Hinderson, president of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches:

> "We have consulted with our entire legal staff and with many of its volunteer advisers and wish to say to our members in Virginia that we are prepared to meet any move which may be made. All of us are confident that at the proper time, namely, when actual moves have been made and actual practices set up, Virginia's actions can be challenged successfully in the courts.
>
> "At present we have before us only declarations of intentions and plans for moves which may or may not be executed. But when a procedure has in fact been put into practice, we will make a prompt counter move. As far as we can see from this point, they have nothing that will stand up in court."

Wilkins said the vote had caused confusion among many; that "it was evident from the frantic debate and the host of unanswered questions" which voters did not understand, that they will realize, too late, "the danger confronting the public school system of the state." He thought it probable that he NAACP would save Virginia's public schools from destruction "by those who place defiance of the Supreme Court above the welfare of both Negro and white Virginians."


20th CENTURY
VIRGINIA STATE CONVENTION SCHEME TO CONTINUE SEGREGATION
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

"Carry me back to old Virginny."

Turning on the coldest heat-o,
From NATO through to METO,
Flies the Salesman Number One
Jammed with plans all so neat-o,
He's flying now to SEATO,
Selling cannon on the run!
Propping up the weak alliances
With military sciences,
Peddling sixteen million ton!
But Nehru and Chou and Tito,
Sit in the driver's seat-o,
Watching every son-of-a-gun!

V. M. S. — L. A.

THEY CRIED GOLD AND CUT WOOD

Probe reveals vast new giveaway of timber by McKay in Oregon

IN A SPEECH a couple of years ago in Albuquerque, N. M., Secy. of the Interior Douglas McKay said that "our basic mission is to dispose of and to integrate the public domain with the private economy." About the same time one of McKay's assistants told an audience in Seattle, Wash., that he hoped "private industry will be so successful in handling the job in growing and managing our forests that in many areas it will become difficult to justify continued federal ownership and management."

Last week Democrats were taking a closer look at one of the McKay capers in turning over a chunk of the public domain to a private interest The story goes back to 1948, when the Al Sarena Mines, Inc., a firm owned by H. P. McDonald Sr. and his two sons, with headquarters in Mobile, Ala., applied to the government for mining rights on a tract of land in the Rogue River Natl. Forest in Oregon. The government said no because an assay showed that there wasn't enough gold and silver on the land to justify commercial mining.

INTO THE RIVER: After President Eisenhower was elected and McKay announced the new giveaway policy of the Administration, the Al Sarena Mines tried again with far better results. A sample of ore from the land sought was assayed again—this time by a Mobile firm whose chief chemist just happened to be a personal friend of the McDonald family. It was found to contain enough ore to justify a mining claim. Government agents who had taken a matching sample of ore conveniently threw theirs into the Rogue River and no check was ever made against the Mobile firm's finding. The McDonald family got some 473 acres of public land for the nominal sum of $5 an acre.

After getting their mining rights, the Al Sarena Mines did no mining. Instead they began cutting timber above the ground, and it just happened that the McDonald tract held one of the richest stands of Douglas fir and sugar pine in all the northwest; some estimates place the total value of the trees at nearly $650,000. Total investment by the McDonalds is figured at $8,045.

BOTTOM OF THE DECK: Sen W. Kerr Scott (D-N. C.), head of a joint Congressional subcommittee, held a preliminary hearing on the matter in Portland, Ore., last November, said later that

> ". . . testimony . . . very strongly indicates that the Dept. of Interior, at high levels, concocted a frantic scheme to deal from the bottom of the deck and pass under the table some one-half million dollars worth of publicly owned timber to a private company."

The hearings got under way again on Jan. 10 in Washington and produced some heavy fireworks with Republicans claiming the whole thing to be a foul blow and a political smear in an election year. Not much testimony was taken in the first couple of days, but Sen. Scott did manage to show that the Interior Dept. decision to award the land was dated Jan 6, 1954, on the ground that "assay reports submitted and now on file" showed sufficient mineral content to justify a mining claim. But the assay report was not mailed to Washington from Oregon until Jan. 5, wasn't received until Jan. 8, two days after the award was made.

NO MINING DONE: According to Sen. Scott, about $100,000 of timber has already been cut but he insisted he could find no evidence of mining operations on the land. He has promised to keep at the probe until he gets the full story, has announced that he will call as a witness Secy. McKay himself, and has threatened to go out to Oregon and dig up ore samples with his own hands to prove the mining claim fraudulent.

NEW YORK

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HARVEY O'CONNOR, challenger of McCarthy by First Amendment, former editor Seattle Union Record and publicist Oil Workers International, author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Empire of Oil," delivers main West Coast civil liberties address Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m.: **'DOES FREEDOM HAVE A FUTURE?"** Adm. $1. 2936 W. 8th St. ' UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.

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HARVEY O CONNOR, champion of the First Amendment, author of "Mellon's Millions" and "The Empire of Oil" speaks on **"HOT OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST,"** Sun., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church. 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys. Donation: $1.

Oakland, Calif.

Hear **JOHN WEXLEY** in a commentary on his monumental study "The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg." Sat., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 360 36th St.

Newark, N. J.

LECTURE AND FOLK DANCE, Sat., Jan. 28, 8:30 p.m., at 516 Clinton Av. SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN will speak on "Influence of Folk Music on Modern Composers." Jewish Philharmonic Chorus and Folk Dance group will perform.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Come meet with **DR. ALBERT E. BLUMBERG** on eve of his Smith Act trial, Thurs., Jan. 26, 8 p.m., New Century Auditorium, 124 S. 12th St. Speakers: **Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Dr. Barrows Dunham.** Subs: $1. Ausp: Committee to Defend Dr. Blumberg.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"WE ARE FROM KRONSTADT,"** Jan. 21. A film famous in cinema history that depicts a crucial episode in the 1918 war of intervention. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; nonmembers, $1.25. Next week: **"THE SPICE OF LIFE'** (French).

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SUN., JAN. 22, 8:30 P.M. Hear Maude Russell, 26 years service with Chinese Y. M. C. A., publisher "Far East Reporter," give her **"REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST,"** at 315 W. 98th St., Apt. 7B. Contribution 75c, including refreshments.

MOZART FESTIVAL in celebration of 200th Anniversary of his birth. Sun., Jan. 29, 2:30 p.m. Film Opera "Marriage of Figaro," with Berlin State Orchestra, German-American titles. Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St. Adm.: $1.25 (tax included). Sponsor: German-American, Inc.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 29 — 7 P.M.
Herbert Aptheker, one of America's foremost historians, will lecture on "Loyalty and History." Edith Segal, noted caller and teacher, will lead folk dancing. Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus, 189 2nd Av. (2nd floor).

JEFFERSON SUNDAY FORUMS
Jan 22 — **SEAN O'CASEY: PLAYWRIGHT OF THE WORKING CLASS,** with Dr. Francine Bradley and guests. A discussion of O'Casey as Man and Writer together with dramatic readings from his plays. Jan. 29 — **WHAT'S AHEAD FOR AMERICAN ECONOMY IN '56.** A Round-Table on economic perspectives, with David Goldway, Victor Perlo and Myer Weise. Bring your questions.

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BOOKS

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn speaks her own piece

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All will find the book rewarding, but for younger readers its value will prove immeasurable, arming them with facts to enable them to expose the calumnies of today. It proves that American social struggles have a genealogy as indisputably native as New England baked beans or Pennsylvania scrapple. It exposes as a lie the charge that embattled trade unions, resisting repressive legislation, are impelled by orders received from an "evilly conspiratorial foreign source" seeking our destruction. It tolls the bell over the hopes of those who pretend to believe that if worldwide emerging socialism and all its work are blotted out, capitalism would become universally a Paradise regained.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

WHAT FOREIGN IDEOLOGY? For here, in black and white, is the story of this generation's forebears — jailed, blacklisted, cruelly beaten and murdered to win what their descendants enjoy today. These men and women did not fight under the banner of Marx and scientific socialism. They fought against inhuman working conditions and to recapture the basic rights guaranteed under our Constitution. To keep body and soul together, men and women in mines and mills HAD to resist the encroachments which a burgeoning American capitalism would have imposed. Based on this history we can ask our own $64 question: "What's all this nonsense about 'loyalty to a foreign ideology?'"

This autobiography emphasizes the contrast between the nature of the struggle then and now. In those years the crudest physical violence was rampant, tolerated and often instigated by the forces of "law and order." Today lawlessness has transferred the violence of the night sticks, guns and tear gas of company detectives to the violence against constitutional rights practiced by the Dept. of Justice and courts which do its bidding.

HUMANITY SHINES THROUGH: This book records the names of many eminent Americans who protested and fought against the shocking cruelties of that half century. But against today's judicial malpractice it has been infinitely more difficult to arouse decent American citizens; to convince them that evidence is tainted by informers and suborners of perjury; that cowed juries dare not render true judgment, or that the Bench itself, invaded by fear, too often impels the judiciary to forget its sworn obligation to tolerate no assault upon a defendant's constitutional rights.

Intellectual honesty and an unfaltering humanity shine through these pages. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn holds an unblurred mirror up to truth, never permitting the riper experience of later years to gloss over the setbacks and mistakes of the past. With her warm, outgoing feeling for people there is never given the impression that the folk of whom she writes are a faceless mass. They are human beings, simply pooling strength and purpose for honestly avowed, legitimate aims, differing from their fellow citizens only because circumstances compelled them to militancy for bread and justice.

TRUTH WILL RISE AGAIN: In these pages we share the lives of heroic men and women in a deeply moving chronicle of defeat and victory—tragedy and triumph—and oftentimes heartbreaking cruelty. The victories recorded here encourage us to believe that we, too, can win the battles now being waged on so many fronts. We cannot fail to be heartened by this book. For then—as now—the most apparently resounding defeat carried within it the seeds of victory. "Truth crushed to earth, will rise again."

In unforgettable lines, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, writing of a great steel strike, said: "The great life-giving force, the workers—had gone out of the vast plants." And every page of **I Speak My Own Piece*** impels us to an ever deeper conviction that this "great life-giving force" will one day make our land truly "America the Beautiful."

—Muriel I. Symington

**I SPEAK MY OWN PIECE by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Masses & Mainstream,* 832 *Broadway, New York* 3, *N. Y. Hard cover* $2.75; *paper* $1.75. 326 *pp.*

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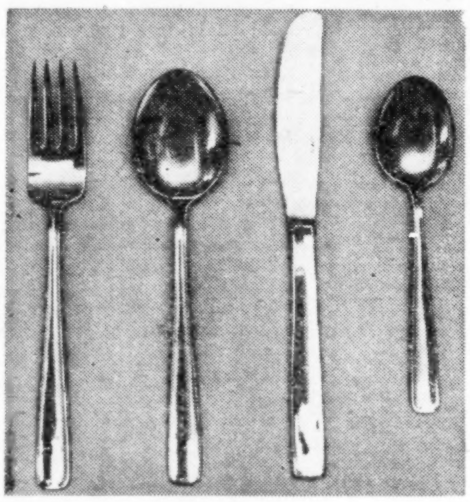

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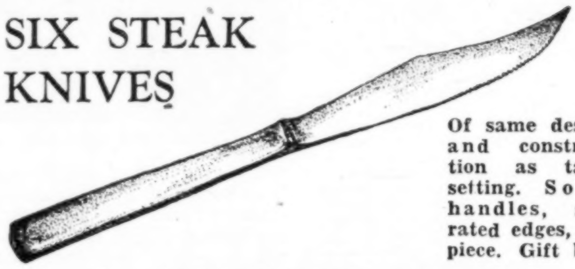

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the SPECTATOR

Gorky: Singer of life

THREE MAIN CURRENTS can be found in the writing of Maxim Gorky. First came the lyric tales and dramas of the romantic years when he was a tramp and migratory worker. In the lowest and most degraded depths of society, he found the spark of human dignity, human revolt.

Yes, Gorky loved the people. Out of that love grew the second and Socialist phase, when instinctive love became organized into a tool for liberation. The novel **Mother** belongs in this category.

His Marxism developed a third literary phase, and made Gorky a satirist, analyst and prophetic historian of the degenerating culture of the capitalist classes.

The Artamonovs* belongs to this third strain in his writing. It traces the degeneration of three generations of a Russian merchant family. The young Gorky once told this story to Tolstoy, who strongly urged him to write it.

"I know two such families in Tula," said Tolstoy. "Do it. It should be a long novel, written concisely."

THE RISE AND FALL: **The Artamonovs,** now first being published in this country, is written concisely, as Tolstoy advised, yet is crowded with a living, changing world of real people. One follows the vivid drama anxiously, as with reality, and only at the end does one realize that this has also been the story of the rise and decline of capitalism in Russia.

The story begins two years after the emancipation of the Russian serfs in 1860. A powerful stranger appears one day in a small, sleepy, feudal town on the Volga. He is Ilya Artamonov, a recently liberated serf who now wants to be his own master. Bearded, lustful, a ruthless pusher and climber, Artamonov is as hungry for personal power as our own robber barons at the dawn of American capitalism. He organizes the landless peasants and migratory workers to build him a weaving mill, where he employs them for his own profit. He boasts and bellows; he frightens the sickly Mayor into his grave; marries his elder son to the Mayor's daughter; takes the Mayor's handsome wife for his mistress. He, a former serf, talks of founding a bourgeois dynasty that will last for hundreds of years. But in Russia capitalism did not manage to live as long as it has in England or America. In China we see its life is even shorter today.

THE HEIRS OF GREED: The boastful Ilya Artamonov destroyed himself with his senseless energy. He tore himself apart one day trying to show some reluctant horses how to pull a loaded wagon out of the mud.

His sons inherit only his wealth, not his hunger or his strength. The eldest is a stupid, sullen manager, who dislikes and distrusts people and drowns his failures in drink. He is a Dostoievskian figure in his mad orgies, and in the way he murders a worker's child out of sheer boredom. The other sons are just as unable to rule or to build. Most of the third generation are as neurotic—the depleted heirs of capitalist greed, lust and inhumanity.

Only two young students in the third generation revive the family vitality. They join the people's cause, and help make that great revolution which is today ending all privileges, all empires and personal dynasties.

A DIRTY PICNIC: Much of this material is negative, but it is wonderful to see how a master like Gorky handles it. There is the scene of a week-long orgy, for example, complete with gypsy fiddling, vomiting, endless vodka, and the paunchy, bearded, violent merchants lighting cigars with hundred ruble notes and thrusting fortunes on their naked whores.

Gorky renders every sordid detail; he doesn't shrink from it in quasi-Puritan piety. Neither is he frightened or too impressed by the revelling merchants, nor does he search for mystic symbolism in their dirty picnic (and it is really dirty).

AND IT WILL END: The sadist-mystics of the "new American literature" often find their God in such happenings. But Gorky seems to say that this is no metaphysical evil; this is just the specific and realistic evil of Russian merchants and philistines who live by the laws of capitalist greed. It will pass. We will end it soon. It is disgusting, and we do not envy it. It belongs to capitalism, the pre-history of man. Calmly and firmly, we say it will soon end.

It's good that a Gorky book again appears in America. The strong, clear, beautiful voice rises in a time when there is so much degeneration and futility in the current writing. Gorky was a healthy genius, a comrade of man, a singer of life, a hero who loved the people. Unlike our "hard-boiled" school, his realism included hope and the goodness of man.

Our America, so full of cynicism, still has much to learn from the great Gorky.

—Michael Gold

**THE ARTAMONOVS, by Maxim Gorky, published by Liberty Classics,* 100 *W. 23d St., New York* 11, *N. Y.* 287 *pp.* $3.75.

Du Bois lectures on slave trade

DR. W. E. B. Du BOIS will conduct a ten-session lecture course on the "History of the African Slave Trade," beginning Mon., Jan. 23, 6:45 p.m., at the Jefferson School of Social Science, 6th Av. at 16th St.

The Jefferson School's Winter Term program, now getting under way, includes more than 70 courses in economics, politics, history, philosophy, science and the arts. Classes meet one evening a week for 10 weeks.